The Firmest Bond

Islamic Unity, Reform, and Resistance to Colonialism

1884

Jamal al-Din al-Afghani

Muhammad ’Abduh

Translated by: M. Al-Kush

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Al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqa:

The Complete Essays of Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Muhammad 'Abduh

1884

Islamic Unity, Reform, and Resistance to Colonialism.

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CONTENTS

1. Opening…21
2. Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani…33
3. The Enigma of Origins…33
4. Early Education and Intellectual Formation…35
5. The Wanderings of a "Falcon"…36
6. Egypt: The Formative Years…38
7. The Paris Years and Al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqa…41
8. The Persian Interlude…42
9. Final Years in Istanbul…43
10. Legacy and Impact…44
11. Sheikh Imam Muhammad 'Abduh…46
12. Origins and Early Life…46
13. The Sufi Awakening…48
14. The Azhar Years…49
15. The First Crises…51
16. The 'Urabi Revolution and Exile…52
17. Beirut: The Productive Years…54
18. The Return to Egypt and Rise to Prominence…55
19. The Reformer's Vision: Three Principles…57
20. The Man and His Character…58
21. Influence and Legacy…60
22. The Three Pillars of His Reform…61
23. The Intellectual Pillar: Liberation from Taqlid…62
24. The Spiritual Pillar: Religion as a Beacon for Science…62
25. The Historical Pillar: Returning to the Ancestors…63
26. A Final Reflection…64
27. The Opening Editorial of Al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqa…66
28. Chapter One: Nationality and the Islamic Faith…77
29. Chapter Two: The Past and Present of the Nation and the Remedy for its Ills…85
30. Chapter Three: Christianity and Islam, and Their Followers…100
31. Chapter Four: The Decline of the Muslims, Their Inertia, and the Cause Thereof…110
32. Chapter Five: Policies of Those Who Have a Right ... and the Stirring of Those Who Have No Right…119
33. Chapter Six: Religious Solidarity (Partisanship)…123
34. Chapter Seven: Divine Decree and Destiny (Al-Qaḍā' wa al-Qadar)…137
35. Chapter Eight: Virtues and Vices, and Their Effects…151
36. Chapter Nine: Unity, Discord, and the Cause of Decline…163
37. Chapter Ten: Unity and Sovereignty, or Harmony and Dominance…173
38. Chapter Eleven: Hope…182
39. Chapter Twelve: Men of the State, the King's Confidants, and How They Should Be…193
40. Chapter Thirteen: How Great is God's Wisdom in the Love of True Praise…201
41. Chapter Fourteen: Honour…208
42. Chapter Fifteen: The Nation and the Authority of Despotic Rule…215
43. Chapter Sixteen: The Call to the Persians to Unite with the Afghans…217
44. Chapter Seventeen: God's Test of the Believers…224
45. Chapter Eighteen: And Whoever God Leads Astray, There Is No Guide for Him…227
46. Chapter Nineteen: The Causes of Preserving the Kingdom…229
47. Chapter Twenty…238
48. Chapter Twenty-One…243
49. Chapter Twenty-Two: The Ways of God with Nations and Their Application to the Muslims…247
50. Chapter Twenty-Three: Delusion (Al-Wahm)…256
51. Chapter Twenty-Four: Cowardice (Al-Jubn)…264
52. Chapter Twenty-Five: The Earthquake of the English in Sudan…271
53. News Section — Chapter 1: Britain's Policy in the East…279
54. News Section — Chapter 2…285
55. News Section — Chapter 3…293
56. News Section — Chapter 4…294
57. News Section — Chapter 5…295
58. News Section — Chapter 6…297
59. News Section — Chapter 7: The Egyptian Question…298

60. News Section — Chapter 8: The English in Sudan…303
61. News Section — Chapter 9: The Echo of the Sudanese Call…307
62. News Section — Chapter 10…309
63. News Section — Chapter 11: The English Parliament…310
64. News Section — Chapter 12: The Sublime Porte…313
65. News Section — Chapter 13…315
66. News Section — Chapter 14: The French in Tonkin…317
67. News Section — Chapter 15…318
68. News Section — Chapter 16: Sheikh al-Mirghani…323
69. News Section — Chapter 17: Khartoum in the French Newspapers, Citing the English…324
70. News Section — Chapter 18: The Tyranny of Lord Dufferin…326
71. News Section — Chapter 19…327
72. News Section — Chapter 20: Nubar Pasha's Argument…329
73. News Section — Chapter 21: Uthman Digna…329
74. News Section — Chapter 22: Muhammad Ahmad's Treatment of the Christian Missionaries…330
75. News Section — Chapter 23…331
76. News Section — Chapter 24…332
77. News Section — Chapter 25: The Ottoman Empire…337
78. News Section — Chapter 26: England on the Red Sea Coasts…338
79. News Section — Chapter 27: Return to Khartoum…342
80. News Section — Chapter 28: England's Hopes Regarding Muhammad Ahmad's Movements…346
81. News Section — Chapter 29: Courage and Glory…348
82. News Section — Chapter 30: A Legend…349
83. News Section — Chapter 31: Power Belongs to Truth…351
84. News Section — Chapter 32: The English Newspapers and Al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqa…356
85. News Section — Chapter 33: Inability and Evasion…358
86. News Section — Chapter 34: England and the Army…363
87. News Section — Chapter 35: Mr. Blount's Opinion on the Egyptian Question (A Free Englishman Who Does Justice to the Egyptians)…365
88. News Section — Chapter 36: Britain Pats Tawfiq Pasha on the Back…366
89. News Section — Chapter 37…368
90. News Section — Chapter 38: The Egyptian and English Question…368
91. News Section — Chapter 39: The Terror of the Situation for Gordon…375
92. News Section — Chapter 40…377
93. News Section — Chapter 41: The Opinion of the French Newspapers on the English…378
94. News Section — Chapter 42: Another Deception…380
95. News Section — Chapter 43: Another Deception…381
96. News Section — Chapter 44: The New Predicament…383
97. News Section — Chapter 45: Al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqa is Distributed for Free!…387
98. News Section — Chapter 46: Riyad Pasha and English Policy…387
99. News Section — Chapter 47: Sudan…394
100. News Section — Chapter 48: A Harsh Punishment…397
101. News Section — Chapter 49: Al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqa…406
102. News Section — Chapter 50: Ismail Pasha…407
103. News Section — Chapter 51…408
104. News Section — Chapter 52: The Indian Press…409
105. News Section — Chapter 53: A Losing Deal…410
106. News Section — Chapter 54: Political News…413
107. News Section — Chapter 55: The Egyptian Question is International…415
108. News Section — Chapter 56: Al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqa (Its Confiscation in Egypt and India, and the Imposition of a Fine on Its Readers!)…421
109. News Section — Chapter 57: The English Conduct in India…424
110. News Section — Chapter 58: A Lesson in Literature…428
111. News Section — Chapter 59: Political News…430
112. News Section — Chapter 60: In Delay is Destruction!…434
113. News Section — Chapter 61…440
114. News Section — Chapter 62…441
115. News Section — Chapter 63: An Attack on Sudan, Crossing the Nile!…443
116. News Section — Chapter 64: Sudan and Egypt…447
117. News Section — Chapter 65: A Vile Calumny Against Islam…450
118. News Section — Chapter 66: A Struggle for the Establishment of the Occupation!…453
119. News Section — Chapter 67…454
120. News Section — Chapter 68: The Brahmin of Lahore…458

121. News Section — Chapter 69…459
122. News Section — Chapter 70: English Justice!…461
123. News Section — Chapter 71: England and France…466
124. News Section — Chapter 72: The Agreement…471
125. News Section — Chapter 73: The Sublime Porte…476
126. News Section — Chapter 74: The English and Islam…477
127. News Section — Chapter 75: The Sublime Porte and the English…480
128. News Section — Chapter 76: Freedom of the Press and Colonialism!…485
129. News Section — Chapter 77…487
130. News Section — Chapter 78: The Sublime Porte…496
131. News Section — Chapter 79: Awakening from Slumber…497
132. News Section — Chapter 80: An English Trick…500
133. News Section — Chapter 81: The English's Affection for the Muslims…501
134. News Section — Chapter 82: Transgression in Deception…503
135. News Section — Chapter 83: An Opportunity That Must Not Be Missed…506
136. News Section — Chapter 84…512
137. News Section — Chapter 85: Tawfiq Pasha is Asked to Die a Martyr!…513
138. News Section — Chapter 86: These Are the Men of England, and These Are Their Ideas…514
139. News Section — Chapter 87: Lord Northbrook, the New Governor of Egypt…519
140. News Section — Chapter 88: A Subtle Point…525
141. News Section — Chapter 89: The Opposition of the English…526
142. News Section — Chapter 90…531
143. News Section — Chapter 91…538
144. News Section — Chapter 92: Lahore…540
145. News Section — Chapter 93: The English and the States…545
146. News Section — Chapter 94: Tawfiq Pasha's Glorification of Lord Northbrook!…549
147. News Section — Chapter 95: France and Germany…551
148. News Section — Chapter 96: The Cunning of the English in Egypt…552
149. News Section — Chapter 97: The Struggle between England and France…555
150. News Section — Chapter 98: The Harm of the English…556
151. News Section — Chapter 99: Alas!…560
152. News Section — Chapter 100: Ismail Pasha Yearns for Egypt!…561
153. News Section — Chapter 101: The Opportunity…564
154. News Section — Chapter 102: Gladstone…567
155. News Section — Chapter 103…571
156. News Section — Chapter 104: The Failure of the English Effort…578

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Introduction to: The Firmest Bond ‘Al-'Urwah al-Wuthqa’

A Reader's Guide to This Historic Text

The work you hold in your hands is not merely a translation of a nineteenth-century newspaper. It is a living document, a cry of awakening, and a political manifesto that speaks as urgently to our

time as it did to the generation of 1884. Al-'Urwah al-Wuthqa — The Firmest Bond — was a weekly Arabic journal published in Paris by two of the most influential Islamic thinkers of the modern era: Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Muhammad 'Abduh. Though it lasted only eight months and produced just eighteen issues, its impact was seismic. Banned in Egypt and India, its readers fined for possessing it, the journal nevertheless circulated in secret, shaping the consciousness of a generation and laying the intellectual foundations for anti-colonial movements that would follow.

But why should a reader in the twenty-first century — whether Muslim or non-Muslim, Eastern or Western — care about a short-lived newspaper from 1884? The answer lies in the profound resonance of its central themes: the struggle against foreign domination, the necessity of internal reform, the power of religious and cultural solidarity, and the conviction that no empire, however mighty, can permanently subjugate a people united by faith and purpose. These are not historical curiosities; they are the very issues that define our contemporary world, from the Middle East to Asia, from the rise of new imperialisms to the resurgence of religious and nationalist movements.

The World of 1884: An Empire in Decline, A World in Transformation

To understand Al-'Urwah al-Wuthqa, we must first understand the world that produced it. The late nineteenth century was an age of high imperialism. European powers — Britain, France, Russia, and others — had carved up much of Asia, Africa, and the Pacific into colonies and spheres of influence. The Ottoman Empire, once the terror of Europe, was now the "sick man of Europe," its territories shrinking, its sovereignty routinely violated by Western governments. The Islamic world, which had once stretched from Spain to India, was fragmenting under the pressure of European expansion.

For Muslims, this was a time of profound crisis. The question that haunted thinkers and leaders was simple but agonising: Why have we fallen so low, and how can we rise again? Some answered by calling for blind imitation of the West — adopting its institutions, its laws, its very worldview. Others retreated into a defensive traditionalism, insisting that the only path to salvation was a return to the past, unchanged and unthinking. A third path emerged, more challenging and more creative: reform that was rooted in Islamic principles but open to the best of what the West had to offer. This was the path of al-Afghani and 'Abduh.

Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Muhammad 'Abduh

Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1838-1897) was one of the most enigmatic and influential figures of his age. Born either in Afghanistan or Iran (the debate continues), he was a restless wanderer, a "falcon" as he called himself, who journeyed from Kabul to Istanbul, from Cairo to Paris, from London to Tehran. He was a philosopher, a politician, and a tireless opponent of British imperialism. His core message was simple: Muslims must unite. The divisions between Sunni and Shia, Arab and Turk, Persian and Indian, were fatal distractions. The real enemy was European colonialism, which exploited these divisions to conquer and divide. Al-Afghani was less interested in theological minutiae than in political action. He believed that Islam, properly understood, was a religion of power, not of passivity. It demanded courage, initiative, and a willingness to sacrifice for the community.

It is also worth noting that al-Afghani was involved with Freemasonry during his time in Egypt and elsewhere. In the context of the nineteenth-century Middle East, this did not necessarily reflect a Westernizing or secularizing orientation. On the contrary, Masonic lodges in Egypt and the Ottoman Empire often served as spaces for political organizing, networking among reformers, and discussing nationalist and anti-colonial strategies in a period when open political activity was severely restricted. Al-Afghani used these networks pragmatically, as tools to build alliances and disseminate his ideas, rather than as expressions of any particular ideological commitment to

Masonic principles. This practical, instrumental use of available platforms exemplifies his broader approach to political action.

Muhammad 'Abduh (1849-1905) was the more systematic thinker of the two. Born in the Nile Delta, he studied at Al-Azhar, the thousand-year-old centre of Islamic learning. He was initially drawn to Sufism, but his encounter with al-Afghani in Cairo transformed him. He came to see that the stagnation of the Islamic world was not due to Islam itself, but to the way Islam had been interpreted and practiced. Muslims had become trapped in taqlid — blind imitation of past scholars — and had lost the spirit of ijtihad — independent reasoning. 'Abduh argued that Islam was inherently rational, that it called for the pursuit of knowledge and science, and that it was fully compatible with modernity. What Muslims needed was not to abandon their faith, but to return to its original sources — the Qur'an and the authentic Sunnah — and to reinterpret them for a new age. This was the birth of what would later be called Islamic modernism.

The partnership between al-Afghani and 'Abduh was fruitful precisely because of their complementary strengths: the one a fiery agitator, the other a thoughtful scholar; the one a political strategist, the other a religious reformer. Together, they formed a formidable force.

Why Was The Firmest Bond ‘Al-'Urwah al-Wuthqa’ Written?

The immediate trigger for the journal was the British occupation of Egypt in 1882. Egypt was nominally part of the Ottoman Empire, but it had become deeply indebted to European creditors. The 'Urabi revolt — a nationalist movement led by Colonel Ahmed 'Urabi — sought to break foreign control. Britain, fearing for the Suez Canal and its route to India, intervened militarily, bombarded Alexandria, and crushed the revolt. Egypt was now effectively a British colony, though the fiction of Ottoman sovereignty was maintained.

For al-Afghani and 'Abduh, this was a catastrophe. Egypt was not just any country; it was the intellectual and cultural heart of the Arab world, the home of Al-Azhar, and the gateway to the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina. Its fall to Britain was a profound blow to the entire Islamic world. From their exile in Paris, the two men decided to launch a journal that would galvanise Muslims everywhere. Al-'Urwah al-Wuthqa — the title taken from the Qur'anic phrase meaning "the firmest bond" — was to be a platform for Pan-Islamic resistance.

The journal's message was threefold:

1. Colonialism is not invincible. Britain might appear all-powerful, but its strength was an illusion. It was overstretched, dependent on local

collaborators, and internally divided. The vast Muslim population of India alone could rise up if they were united.

2. Muslims must reform themselves. The real problem was not just the external enemy but the internal decay: authoritarian rulers, corrupt scholars, passive populations. Muslims had forgotten the principles that had made them great: justice, consultation, knowledge, and courage.

3. The bond of religion is stronger than any other. The West tried to divide Muslims along national or ethnic lines, but the true community of believers transcended these boundaries. The Caliphate, though weakened, remained a symbol and a potential rallying point.

The journal was distributed free, smuggled into Egypt and India despite the ban. Its language was powerful, its arguments sharp. It was not a dry academic journal but a weapon of political warfare.

The Events of 1881-1885: A Timeline in Context

To make sense of the news sections of this book, the reader should be aware of the key events that shaped the world of al-Afghani and 'Abduh:

· 1879: Al-Afghani is expelled from Egypt for his political activities. Muhammad 'Abduh, his disciple, is also dismissed from his posts.

· 1881: The 'Urabi movement begins in Egypt. Colonel Ahmed 'Urabi leads a revolt against the Khedive and foreign influence. Muhammad 'Abduh supports the movement.

· 1882 (July 11): Britain bombards Alexandria. British forces defeat 'Urabi at Tel al-Kebir (September 13). Egypt is occupied. Al-Afghani and 'Abduh meet in Paris.

· 1881-1885: The Mahdist revolt in Sudan. Muhammad Ahmad proclaims himself the Mahdi, the expected redeemer. His forces defeat British-backed Egyptian armies.

· 1884 (January): General Gordon arrives in Khartoum to evacuate the garrison. He is soon besieged by Mahdist forces.

· 1884 (March): The first issue of Al-'Urwah al-Wuthqa appears in Paris. The journal continues for eight months.

· 1884 (October): The final issue is published. The journal is effectively suppressed.

· 1885 (January): Khartoum falls. Gordon is killed. The British withdraw from Sudan, leaving it to the Mahdists.

· 1885: The Berlin Conference formalises the European scramble for Africa. The fate of the continent is decided by European powers without regard for its inhabitants.

These events are the backdrop to every page of this book. The writers are not dispassionate observers; they are participants in a struggle that they believe will determine the future of Islam.

Relevance and Its Limitations

Reading Al-'Urwah al-Wuthqa today requires both understanding and caution. The text is a product of its time, and some of its assumptions may strike the contemporary reader as dated or problematic. The authors, for all their brilliance, were men of the nineteenth century. They shared some of the prejudices of their era, including a tendency to essentialise both "East" and "West." They wrote in a highly rhetorical style that can feel overblown to modern ears. Their vision of Pan-Islamic unity, while inspiring, was never fully realised and faced immense practical obstacles.

Nevertheless, the core arguments of this text remain powerfully relevant.

First, the critique of imperialism is as sharp as any written in the twentieth or twenty-first century. Al-Afghani and 'Abduh understood that colonial power was not just military but also economic, cultural, and psychological. They saw how the colonisers used debt, treaties,

and local collaborators to control their subjects. They exposed the hypocrisy of claims that colonialism brought "civilisation." This analysis resonates with anyone familiar with the history of the Global South.

Second, the call for internal reform remains urgent. The authors insisted that Muslims could not blame foreigners for their decline alone; they had to look at themselves. They criticised authoritarian rulers, corrupt scholars, and a culture of passivity and fatalism. This is a challenge that remains relevant in many parts of the Muslim world today.

Third, the emphasis on solidarity has contemporary resonance. The authors argued that divisions of sect and nation were fatal weaknesses. This is a reminder to all communities, not just Muslims, of the importance of unity in the face of common threats.

Fourth, and perhaps most provocatively, the text offers a model of engagement with the West that is neither wholesale rejection nor blind imitation. The authors believed that Muslims could learn from European science and technology without abandoning their identity. This is a middle path that remains attractive to many who struggle with the extremes of nativism and assimilation.

The Larger Struggle

The world of 1884 was one of empires and colonies. The world of today is also defined by global struggles, but the terms have shifted. While al-Afghani and 'Abduh focused on British and French imperialism, the contemporary landscape is more complex. The Cold War pitted capitalism against socialism, and while that conflict has largely receded, its echoes remain. The rise of neoliberal globalisation, the continuing dominance of Western financial institutions, and the emergence of China as a superpower have created a multipolar world of competing economic systems.

For the Islamic world, these developments have meant both new challenges and new opportunities. The promise of socialism, with its emphasis on anti-imperialism and social justice, once attracted many Muslim intellectuals and movements. Socialist and nationalist regimes in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and elsewhere offered a vision of development that seemed independent of Western control. Yet these regimes often became authoritarian, corrupt, and ultimately failed to deliver. The "red" alternative, whether Soviet or Maoist, proved to be a form of imperialism in its own right.

Capitalism, meanwhile, has become the dominant global system. The Gulf states have embraced a petro-capitalist model, while other Muslim-majority countries have sought to integrate into the global

economy. The result has been uneven development: immense wealth for some, poverty and inequality for others. The ideals of free markets and individualism have clashed with traditional communal values. The question of whether Islam can accommodate capitalism — and what kind of capitalism — is fiercely contested.

Perhaps the most acute contemporary challenge is the Zionist project. The authors of Al-'Urwah al-Wuthqa could not have foreseen the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine, but their arguments about the dangers of foreign penetration and the importance of religious solidarity have been taken up by many Muslim opponents of Zionism. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict, with its dimensions of colonialism, displacement, and religious contestation, has become a central symbol of Muslim grievances against the West. The parallels with the British occupation of Egypt are not lost on those who see the historical continuity of struggle.

The "clash of civilisations" narrative, so popular in some circles, is unhelpful. It obscures the real issues: land, resources, sovereignty, and justice. It also ignores the fact that there are many Muslims, Christians, and Jews who share a commitment to a more just world. The authors of this text did not preach a clash of civilisations; they preached resistance against oppression, regardless of the identity of the oppressor.

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a Living Document

Al-'Urwah al-Wuthqa is not a sacred text. It is a product of human minds responding to human crises. It contains wisdom, but it also contains errors. It offers inspiration, but it also demands critical engagement. We should not read it as a blueprint to be slavishly followed, nor as a curiosity to be dismissed. We should read it as a conversation between the past and the present.

Al-Afghani and 'Abduh believed that Islam could be a force for revival and resistance. They rejected the idea that Muslims were destined to be weak and dominated. They insisted that the world could be changed through knowledge, courage, and unity. These are not just Islamic values; they are universal human values.

The "firmest bond" they spoke of was the bond of faith. But perhaps the bond that matters most today is the bond of shared humanity. In a world torn by conflict, inequality, and environmental crisis, we need new forms of solidarity. The past offers us models and warnings. The future depends on our ability to learn from both.

As you read these pages, think of the Egyptian peasant who smuggled a copy of this newspaper, risking prison and fine. Think of the Indian scholar who read it in secret. Think of the Sudanese tribesman who

fought against British rule. Their struggle was not so different from the struggles of countless people today. And the voice that called them to action, that reminded them of their dignity and power, is the voice you are about to hear.

May it speak to you as it spoke to them.

Timeline of Events Mentioned in This Text (1881-1885)

· 1881 (February): The 'Urabi movement begins in Egypt. Military discontent against the Khedive.

· 1881 (June): Muhammad Ahmad proclaims himself the Mahdi in Sudan.

· 1882 (May): The British and French fleets arrive at Alexandria.

· 1882 (June): 'Urabi takes control of the Egyptian government.

· 1882 (July 11): British bombardment of Alexandria.

· 1882 (September 13): British forces defeat 'Urabi at Tel al-Kebir. Britain occupies Egypt.

· 1882 (November): Muhammad 'Abduh is tried and exiled to Syria.

· 1883 (January): Lord Dufferin begins his reform mission in Egypt.

· 1883 (November): British withdrawal from Sudan begins.

· 1883 (December): General Gordon is appointed to evacuate Khartoum.

· 1884 (January): Gordon arrives in Khartoum. The siege begins.

· 1884 (March): First issue of Al-'Urwah al-Wuthqa published in Paris.

· 1884 (October): Final issue of Al-'Urwah al-Wuthqa published.

· 1884 (November-December): The Berlin Conference begins, formalising European partition of Africa.

· 1885 (January): Khartoum falls to Mahdist forces. Gordon is killed.

· 1885 (March): British withdraw from Sudan. Mahdist state established.

· 1885 (June): Britain and France agree on a financial settlement for Egypt, leading to the London Conference.

Note on the Translation

This translation is based on the complete collection of the eighteen issues of Al-'Urwah al-Wuthqa as published in Paris between March and October 1884. The text includes the original editorial articles, the news sections, and various appendices. The translator has made every effort to preserve the voice and style of the original, including its rhetorical flourish, its political passion, and its dense, layered arguments. Some passages are long and complex; this reflects the

literary conventions of the time and the urgency of the message. The translator has chosen to remain faithful to the text rather than to smooth it over for modern sensibilities.

A glossary of key terms is provided at the end of the book. It is strongly recommended that readers unfamiliar with Islamic terminology consult this glossary while reading the text.

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Opening

In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful. To You we have turned, and to You we have returned, and to You is the final destiny.

This is what Divine Providence extends, concerning the conditions of the East, and upon God we rely for the success of this work.

The ambitions of the greedy have been concealed for ages, then they appeared. They began on paths that souls perhaps do not recall, then they deviated. The powerful among the nations advanced in their march with the weak, until they traversed the desert of thought,

enchanted their minds until they bewildered them about themselves, and led them out of the sphere of order, and brought them to the limits of destructive chaos.

Some people went towards what delusion suggests and what the devil of fantasy entices, thinking that mechanical power, however few its workers, can maintain a lasting dominion over a great numerical majority, even if its individuals are united. They even claimed that it is possible to annihilate a vast multitude with a mere handful—a notion that reason rejects and proof utterly invalidates. For the fluctuations of events in distant and recent times declare that while it may have been possible for a small tribe to settle among a great nation and have its name and lineage erased, it has never been possible, in any era, to annihilate a great nation or creed by a power equal to it in number, or maintaining a comparable ratio, even if that power reached the utmost limits of what imagination can conceive.

What sound reason dictates, and what the course of human society testifies to, from the earliest known history to today, is that when great nations are afflicted with weakness due to disunity of purpose, heedlessness of undesirable consequences, complacency in a fleeting comfort, or infatuation with a vanishing pleasure—and then an alien power pounces upon them, harassing and somewhat awakening them—if the shocks of events then follow in succession, and their pains trouble them, they will resort to preserving what exists and recovering what is lost. They will find no escape but to seek

deliverance by any means. At that moment, they will sense their true strength, which lies in the cohesion of their individuals and the union of their parts. Divine inspiration, innate instinct, and religious teaching will guide them to realize that they have no need for what they are offered, which is actually the easiest thing for them.

Indeed, human souls—no matter how corrupted their nature and habits may become—when gathered in great numbers under a recognized bond, do not endure injustice except to a limit that falls within their capacity and ability. When that limit is exceeded, souls return to their inherent strength, their pride becomes fierce, their instincts become defiant, and they seek their salvation. They will not lack guidance in their quest. They may err once and the circle may turn against them, but the mistake they make teaches them to remedy what was lost and to guard against falling into the like again. Then they will succeed the next time, and victory and dominance will be theirs. Moreover, if the movement that arises to repel the unbearable is managed by a guardian and directed by a leader, it is not enough to stop its flow or erase its traces merely by crushing that guardian or destroying that leader. For the cause is a deeply rooted internal ailment—like a stagnant, hidden fever—which, even if buried, will resurface more ferociously and with keener insight. Yes, its effect can be mitigated or removed only by removing its cause and eliminating its sources.

It is the custom of nations to ally with those similar to them, out of caution and prudence, and the Lawgiver (God) does not burden them

with more than they owe to those of their own kind. So what if they are burdened with what is beyond their capacity? Undoubtedly, they will reject it, even if they are haughty about it. Every time they reject it, they distance themselves from inclination toward it, and every time they distance themselves from it due to its foreignness, they draw closer to one another. At that point, they belittle it and cast it off like a pit—and this is not surprising. Exceeding the limit in spreading aggression makes nations forget their differences in nationality and race, and unites them in facing the common danger and in repelling fatal calamity. In this state, the call of human nature to agreement is stronger than its call to cooperate in seeking profit.

Are not the wise aware that this is the source of the intellectual movement now stirring in the East? Each seeks deliverance and salvation, and adopts whatever means and causes they can reach—according to their level of guidance and insight—to turn scattered powers into a single force capable of upholding the rights of all.

Indeed, this is a matter expected by the insightful, even if the greedy are blind to it. It is not possible to convince the greedy with proof, but what time brings forth from its habits in its children, and what the course of daily events reveals—the schemes of the plotters will themselves become evident and their eventual fates will be known.

Do not think that the foreigners are unaware of the suffering of the Easterners, or that they are heedless of the reach of injustice among them, or that they are ignorant of their uprisings. Especially among the Muslims among them—there are kings who have been unjustly dethroned, rightful heirs to power who have been wrongfully deprived, the mighty who have become lowly, the noble who have become contemptible, and the rich who have become poor, and the honorable who have become humiliated. The world has seen from them what it has seen, and they have remained in their state for a long time, tasting the harm of the excessive greed of the ambitious, particularly as a result of those events whose seeds were sown in the Egyptian lands about five years ago by the hands of those with ambitions for it. They introduced to the country what it did not know, bewildering its minds; they imposed upon it what it was not accustomed to, confounding its intellects; they burdened it beyond its capacity, causing its strength to rebel; and they broke the power of the deterrent under the name of justice, all to prepare a way to attain their goal. Thus came the blind 'Urabi movement, which they used as a pretext for what they sought. They were driven by the torrent of difficulties—rather, the flood of calamities—upon that country, thinking they would achieve their goal. But they erred in their assumption, and they tasted what they did not attain.

The judgment on that movement has now been issued; its immediate consequences have passed, and its end was sealed. But another movement has arisen, with a cause that holds the highest place in the hearts of Muslims—indeed, it is the remnant of their hopes. We do not

know now what this new movement will bring about. Perhaps there are those who know that its instigators are perplexed about how to manage it. Yes, they planted a seed, but they will reap—or rather, they are now reaping—from it bitter fruit and poisonous colocynth. Undoubtedly, these are the consequences that are inevitable for those who overreach in their greed and delve deeply into their avarice. Had they left the matter from that time to its rightful owners, and delegated the remedy of each incident to those who are expert, capable, and knowledgeable in ways to repel or benefit from it, they would have preserved their interests and obtained the abundant profits they desired, without stumbling or defeat.

But they pursued excess, and what they found—disunity of purpose and scattered desires—emboldened them. It is their most penetrating tool and most deadly weapon. Yet they do not know that, although it is a swift means of destruction, it is also quickly perishable. How soon it turns, when hardships intensify, into a unifying factor that stops the hearts of the aggressors! For if the oppression of injustice befalls a portion of a nation while the rest are spared, the safety of the part consoles the afflicted and serves as a veil of heedlessness for the saved, separating them from feeling what has befallen their brothers. But when harm becomes general, then undoubtedly, vexation will surround them, patience will become difficult, and they will rush toward what is good for them, which holds no good for others.

The dire state that the Egyptian lands have come to is not easy for the souls of Muslims generally to bear. Egypt is considered among them as sacred ground, holding a place in their hearts that none other occupies, due to its position among Islamic kingdoms and because it is the gateway to the Two Holy Sanctuaries. If this is the case, then this incident has rekindled the thoughts of Muslims who were in doubt about the safety of a great pillar of the Islamic faith. The danger that has befallen Egypt has stirred the innermost feelings of Muslims, and their hearts have spoken of it. The pain will continue to provoke them as long as the wound is fresh. This is not surprising for Muslims, for their religious bond is stronger than ties of nationality and language. As long as the Qur'an is among them, and its verses contain what is not lost on the minds of its readers, the era will never succeed in humiliating them. The tragedy in Egypt stirred hidden sorrows, revived unforeseen griefs, and pain coursed through the souls of Muslims like belief penetrates their perceptions.

They look to the past and observe the present, drawing lessons from hardships. We fear that the pain may soon affect souls far and wide—nay, in every region—until the suppressed resentment tears through the ears of the oppressors.

The first to be wary of these consequences are a generation of people who have no foothold in the East except through the favour of the great states, who know neither the nature of the Easterners nor the ways to manage them except through appeasement. They appear in

various colours and similar forms—as protectors of the thrones of kings, defenders of their kingdoms, placaters of the mighty, soothers of minds, extricators of states from the dangers of rebellion, and guardians of the interests of the vanquished. The first thing they must observe in their course is not to rush into actions that would break this delicate thread, which is sufficient to confound them and make them look back and think again. They must avoid violence with a nation whose history testifies that if it becomes enraged, it strangles. They should not be deceived by their lack of means, knowing that once the word is united, the means will not be lacking, nor will the united ones lack a strong, formidable power that will assist them in promoting their policy. The enraged party does not care whether it harms its adversary safely or fatally; it will harm to cause harm, if harm touches it.

However, the blindness of greed has overwhelmed the minds of the greedy, and their ears have become deaf to the whispers circulating from India to Mecca and from Mecca to Egypt, and the cry extending from Egypt to Mecca and from Mecca to India—all converging between the collarbones of those arrogant in their power, reckless in their harshness. The recent calamities that have struck the most important parts of the East have renewed ties and brought together distant regions, whose boundaries are connected by the unity of belief among their inhabitants. They have awakened the minds of the wise and turned their attention to what the outcome of their affairs will be, while noting the causes that brought them to their current state. They have drawn closer in thought, communicated in seeking truth, and

turned to treating the causes of weakness, hoping to recover some of the strength they have lost, and hoping that events will pave a good path for them to safeguard their religion and honour. In the present, there is a golden opportunity to seize, and towards it they have stretched out their hands, not thinking they will miss it. If it escapes them, how many like it are hidden in the unseen! To God is the final outcome of all affairs.

Groups of those wise ones have formed in several regions, especially in the Indian and Egyptian lands, for this noble purpose. They are feeling the causes of success from every side, unifying the word of truth in every place, without flagging in effort or sparing any exertion, even if it leads to the worst that a living being fears for its life. Since they find among their own those who share their plight, they saw fit to bind strong ties of religion, make the foundations of their efforts the general well-being, and seek help from the people of Europe. They have taken upon themselves the responsibility of considering the matter of the general Islamic authority and the duties of its leader. Since Mecca—the source of religion and the centre of certainty, where the general pilgrimage gathers every year, bringing together Easterners and Westerners, and where the great and the humble, the rich and the poor, fraternize in its pure places—is the best city to which their thoughts flow, and from which they spread to all directions, and which guides whom it wills to the right path...

To achieve the goal in a way that is furthest from danger and closest to victory, requiring the caller to have in every sound heart a breath of truth and a call of sincerity, they have sought several ways to spread their ideas among their brothers who are unaware of their cause. They have chosen to have, in these days, a newspaper in the noblest of their tongues—the Arabic tongue—and to be based in a free city like Paris, so that its columns can reach the Eastern regions, enlightening the heedless and awakening the forgetful. They turned to a respected figure, capable of bearing the burden of this enterprise... and he responded to their wish.

The newspaper and its approach: It will come to serve the Easterners, as much as possible, by clarifying the duties whose neglect was the cause of their current affliction, and the principles upon which their power was originally founded. It will warn them against the dangers of what is to come. This will be followed by an examination of the fundamental causes and origins of the shortcomings that have relegated them to a position of weakness and decline, into the valley of hardship where they are lost, the guide is bewildered, and the travellers do not know from which direction the terrifying calamities will strike them.

It will strive, as much as possible, to remove the doubts that have obscured the horizons of faith, closed the paths of guidance, and dispel the whisperings that have seized the minds of the afflicted, causing them to despair of treating their ailments and healing their diseases.

They imagined that the world's previous eras had run their course, and that the time of their ruin had come. It is not too much to instil in souls that the first step on the path to the goal of salvation—which is within the grasp of those who possess it and who are astonished by the weakness and decline of their state—is not far. The key to the door is but a glance of attention and a few short steps. To appear in a manifestation of strength to ward off disasters, it is necessary to adhere to some of the principles upon which the fathers of the Easterners and their ancestors stood—principles that the most powerful and impenetrable European state adheres to. It is not proper to imitate the European path in its details, nor in the paths by which some other Western states have strayed. There is no need for the Easterner, at his starting point, to stand where the European stands at his end—indeed, he should not seek that. The past is the truest witness that whoever sought that has burdened himself and his nation with a weight that has incapacitated and impoverished them.

It must be noted that balance in inherent and acquired powers is the preserver of political relations and ties. If balance is lost, the bond is merely a means for the strong to swallow the weak, and it makes the tenderness of pledges appear in the colours of flattery, disguised in the forms of compliments—a deception that belies its treacherous nature.

It will delve into the subtle paths through which the ambitious creep in the darkness of heedlessness. It will strive to repel the false accusations thrown at the Easterners in general, and the Muslims in

particular, by those who have no knowledge of their condition or understanding of their true affairs. It will refute the claim of those who assert that Muslims cannot progress towards civilisation as long as they adhere to the principles by which their forefathers—the early ones—triumphed. It will clarify what is meant by the civilizational progress they speak of, and the deceptions that politicians weave into their doubts, separating the truthful from the liar, nullifying falsehood, and considering in its demands the strengthening of the praised bond among nations, the fostering of unity among individuals, and the restoration of the common partnership between them and the civilizing powers, to which there is no inclination to abandon what they are rightfully owed, nor to leave them to their ignorance.

With all this, this newspaper will follow the path of its proponents and bearers; it will not appear when they set out in the darkness, nor disappear when they return in the dusk. It will go the ways of guidance and, with God's help, hit its mark with those for whom, in God's eternal knowledge, guidance was ordained. God guides whom He wills to a straight path. It will be sent to those who desire it, whether noble or common, rich or poor. Those who cannot reach us directly need only write to the newspaper's administration with their known name and address, specifying the amount they wish to pay, and God is the Grantor of success.

And in it are further details, and God grants success.

—

Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani[15]

The Enigma of Origins

Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani remains one of the most enigmatic and influential figures in modern Islamic history. Born in 1838 (or 1839, according to some sources), his place of birth has been a subject of enduring controversy that continues to divide scholars to this day. The dispute centers on whether he was born in Asadabad, Afghanistan, near Kabul, or in Asadabad, Iran, near Hamadan, with compelling evidence supporting both claims.

The Afghan origin theory, which al-Afghani himself actively promoted, traces his lineage to a prominent Sayyid family in the Kunar district of Afghanistan, claiming descent from Sayyid 'Ali al-Tirmidhi, the famous hadith scholar, and ultimately from Imam Husayn ibn 'Ali, the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad. According to this narrative, he was raised in a Sunni Hanafi household and received his early education in Kabul.

However, modern scholarship, particularly the influential work of Nikki R. Keddie, has challenged this account. After extensive archival research in Istanbul, Paris, India, and Cairo, Keddie and other scholars argue that al-Afghani was actually born in Asadabad, Iran, to a Shi'a family. They contend that his claim to Afghan origin was a calculated strategy to gain influence among the Sunni majority of the Islamic world and to escape the surveillance of the Iranian Qajar government. His rival, Sheikh Abu al-Huda, even derisively called him Muta'afghin — "the one who claims to be Afghan".

Adding another layer to this mystery, the scholar Mustafa 'Abd al-Raziq, who wrote the biographical introduction to this collection, offered a third possibility: that al-Afghani's father was from Mazandaran, Iran, and served as an officer in the Iranian army, sent to Afghanistan on a mission where he settled and married, giving birth to Jamal al-Din there. This Persian-origin theory, like the others, remains impossible to verify definitively, as al-Afghani's early life before his connection with Muhammad 'Abduh[16] in 1870 is shrouded in obscurity and confusion.

What is certain is that al-Afghani adopted several pseudonyms throughout his life, including al-Kabuli ("the one from Kabul"), Asadabadi, Sadat-e Kunar, and even al-Rumi ("the Anatolian"). This deliberate obfuscation of his origins reflects his profound understanding that in the Islamic world, one's perceived identity could

be as important as one's actual identity in the pursuit of influence and reform.

Early Education and Intellectual Formation

Regardless of his true birthplace, al-Afghani received an exceptional education that would shape his worldview and equip him for his life's mission. His father took great care in his upbringing, providing him with a comprehensive education that combined traditional Islamic sciences with rational and philosophical disciplines. He studied Arabic sciences, religious sciences, rational sciences, and mathematical arts, along with medicine and anatomy.

According to some accounts, when he reached the age of eight, his father enrolled him in formal education. He was then taken to Qazvin, then to Tehran, and finally, while still a youth, to the Twelver Shi'a shrine cities in Ottoman Iraq (Najaf and Karbala) for further religious and philosophical study. It is thought that the followers of the Twelver revivalist Shaykh Ahmad influenced him during this period.

Al-Afghani displayed remarkable intelligence and brilliance from an early age, with a voracious appetite for books and learning. He demonstrated a particular fascination with philosophy and rational

inquiry. George Koutzi (Kotschy) notes that he attracted attention from his youth due to his brilliant intelligence, strong memory, and inclination towards military science. He mastered all the classical works in Persian and Arabic in his youth, and he never ignored any modern book translated into any Eastern language. He also became fluent in Turkish, Arabic, Pashto, Dari, and Persian.

His education was not confined to books and traditional scholarship. At the age of seventeen or eighteen, in 1856-1857, al-Afghani travelled to British India. He spent about a year there, during which he studied modern sciences and European methods. This exposure to Western knowledge and, crucially, to the reality of British colonialism in India, left an indelible mark on his thinking and would later inform his anti-colonial activism.

The Wanderings of a "Falcon"

Al-Afghani's life was characterized by constant movement and restless exploration. He once famously described himself as a falcon, saying: "I am like a falcon, a long-distance flyer, who sees the vast space of the universe too narrow for his flight. How then do you want to fetter my feet and imprison me in a small cage? I am like the royal falcon".

After completing his studies, al-Afghani travelled to British India and remained there for about a year, during which he studied something of European sciences and methods. He then turned towards the Hijaz to perform the pilgrimage. He spent about a year travelling through the Arab lands before reaching Mecca. He returned afterwards to Afghanistan and entered the service of Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, rising in his esteem and accompanying him on some of his campaigns. After the Amir's death, al-Afghani joined Amir Muhammad A'zam Khan, who was engaged in a struggle against his younger brother, Amir Sher 'Ali, and became the leader of Muhammad A'zam Khan's forces, displaying remarkable competence. The Amir, however, became apprehensive that al-Afghani might aspire to the throne and gradually ceased to heed his counsel. After their defeat, the two set out together for India. India was then in the grip of disturbances, and the British government, fearing that the rebels might establish contact with al-Afghani, sent him back from where he had come.

Al-Afghani did not feel secure about remaining under the new ruler, Amir Sher 'Ali, and perceived the uneasiness in the Amir's mind. He therefore sought permission to leave for the pilgrimage and travelled by way of India with his servant Abu Turab. When he reached the Indian frontier, the authorities received him with courtesy and respect, but did not permit him to remain for long or to meet people except under the watch of their officials. After about a month, the Indian authorities sent him from the coast of India to Suez on one of their vessels at their own expense. He then came to Egypt and remained there for forty days, during which he visited al-Azhar, mixed with many Syrian students of learning, and delivered lectures to them at his residence. He subsequently turned towards Istanbul, where his

growing reputation had preceded him and attracted the attention of princes, ministers, and men of letters and learning.

In 1866, he made his first recorded appearance in Qandahar, Afghanistan. He entered the service of Amir Dost Muhammad Khan and gained a high position, accompanying him on some campaigns. After the Amir's death, he joined Amir Muhammad A'zam Khan and became the leader of his troops, demonstrating extraordinary competence. However, the Amir secretly feared that al-Afghani might aspire to the throne and began to ignore his advice.

Following a defeat, they both departed for India, where the British government, fearing that the rebels might contact al-Afghani, sent him back to where he came from. Sensing the hostility of the new Afghan ruler, Amir Sher 'Ali, al-Afghani asked permission to leave for the pilgrimage, departing via India with his servant Abu Turab.

Egypt: The Formative Years

Al-Afghani arrived in Egypt in 1871, during the reign of Khedive Ismail. He stayed for forty days, during which he frequented the Al-Azhar Mosque and mixed with Syrian students of knowledge, delivering lectures in his residence. The efforts of Riyad Pasha[24]

persuaded him to stay, and the Egyptian government granted him an annual salary of 100 Egyptian pounds as a gesture of hospitality.

In Egypt, al-Afghani's home became a meeting place for researchers, scholars, and students, especially from Syria. He gave lessons in literature, logic, theology, philosophy, Sufism, jurisprudence, and astronomy to the brightest students, including a number of the finest scholars of Al-Azhar. He refused all fees and salaries for his teaching; his school was his own home. He never went to Al-Azhar as a teacher; he would only visit it, most often on Fridays.

He encouraged his students to write and compose literary, social, and political pieces. They became the vanguard of the literary renaissance in Egypt and the founders of its edifice. Among his most prominent students was Sheikh Muhammad 'Abduh, who would later become the Mufti of Egypt and his most devoted disciple.

Al-Afghani also joined the Freemasons and advanced in its ranks. He established a national lodge where he gathered the elite of his students and followers, training them in public speaking, inspiring them with his principles, preparing them for action, and awakening their patriotic sentiments.

He witnessed in Egypt the final days of Ismail's rule and the opening years of Tawfiq's, when the country was passing through economic, social, intellectual, and political crises. These crises were connected with Ismail's extravagance, Tawfiq's weakness, the collision between the old and the new, political intrigues, and the increasing intervention of foreigners. Throughout this period al-Afghani remained an exceptionally sensitive and perceptive observer, distinguished by broad vision, a powerful memory, penetrating insight, extensive learning, and tireless energy. His remarkable qualities, eloquence, and imposing presence drew to him princes, men of high standing, scholars, and writers, while his gatherings became places of learning, wisdom, literature, and political discussion.

In 1870, he travelled to Istanbul, where he received a warm welcome from Ottoman officials and intellectuals. He was appointed a member of the Council of Knowledge (Majlis al-Ma'arif) under the patronage of 'Ali Pasha, the Grand Vizier. However, his suggestion that the spirit of human society is either Prophethood or Wisdom incurred the displeasure of the Sheikh al-Islam of that time, Hasan Afandi Fahmi. Al-Afghani insisted on contesting the Sheikh al-Islam, and his trial lasted for some time, until the order was issued for him to leave the Ottoman lands.

In 1879, Khedive Tawfiq issued an order expelling him from Egypt, because his political activities had incensed the English Consul and his

philosophical teachings had provoked the conservative clerics of Al-Azhar.

The Paris Years and Al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqa[14]

After his expulsion from Egypt, al-Afghani travelled to London and then to Paris, where he arrived in 1883. In Paris, he met the philosopher Ernest Renan, who described him as an Afghan, untouched by the influences of Islam, belonging to that strong race settled in Upper Iran. Renan said: "He made an impression on me that few have made. He had a powerful effect on me... His freedom of thought and his upright character led me to believe that I was in the presence of a Muslim of the kind I have studied only in the ancients—and I would consider him the equal of Avicenna or Averroes".

In Paris, al-Afghani began publishing his political ideas, fighting against the interference of some Western states in the affairs of Islamic nations, especially India and Egypt.

The greatest manifestation of his political and literary activity in Paris was the founding of Al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqa (The Firmest Bond)—a weekly Arabic journal. He was its political director, and Sheikh

Muhammad 'Abduh was its editor. The journal was essentially a political undertaking with branches in India, Egypt, and other parts of the Islamic East. Its purpose was to awaken the Islamic nations from their weakness and urge them to rise up for their affairs, undermining Britain's position in the Eastern countries.

Only eighteen issues were published over eight months, with the final issue appearing in October 1884. The journal was thoroughly suppressed in India and Egypt, to the extent that it had to be placed in covers to reach its intended recipients. It was even announced in the official Egyptian gazette that anyone found with Al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqa would be fined between five and twenty-five Egyptian pounds. Nevertheless, it had a profound effect on all subsequent movements for national freedom and liberty in the East.

The Persian Interlude

In 1886, al-Afghani travelled to Iran at the invitation of Shah Nasir al-Din. He gained a high position, and princes, jurists, and dignitaries crowded around him. He managed to enrol many of them in the Masonic order. However, the Shah became suspicious of this, and his fear of the growing spiritual authority of Jamal al-Din over a people who surrounded him with reverence and love overwhelmed him. Al-Afghani noticed the Shah's displeasure and left Persia for Russia, where he was received with honour.

He travelled to Paris to visit its Great Exhibition in 1889, where he met the returning Shah. The Shah kept tempting him to return to Persia until he accepted the invitation. The Iranian people quickly rallied around him once more. However, the Shah feared the reform movement that al-Afghani was inspiring and was incited against him. Al-Afghani was eventually escorted beyond the borders by fifty armed horsemen.

In 1891, the Persian government granted a monopoly on tobacco to an English company. Al-Afghani wrote a letter to Mirza Hasan al-Shirazi, the chief jurist, criticising this harmful act. Shirazi issued a fatwa prohibiting every believer from smoking tobacco until the government withdrew from its project, forcing the government to comply. The call for freedom and constitutional reform grew stronger in Persia, eventually leading to the assassination of Shah Nasir al-Din in 1896. Al-Afghani was implicated in this assassination.

Final Years in Istanbul

In 1892, al-Afghani went to London again and stayed there for eight months, devoting all his efforts to opposing the Shah. Sultan Abdul Hamid II invited him to Istanbul. After initial hesitation, al-Afghani

accepted. The Sultan provided him with a beautiful house near the Yıldız Palace and assigned him a monthly salary. He spent five years of his life in Istanbul, "living amid the deceptive appearances of the Sultan's favour, and countless intrigues hatched by the men of the palace against him". He repeatedly begged to be allowed to travel, but he was detained for the rest of his life in a gilded captivity.

Al-Afghani died on 9 March 1897 (or 7 March, according to some sources), at the age of 58, following a prolonged, painful illness. Most Iranians and others who have written biographies of al-Afghani insist that his death was not natural, and that he was given a toxic substance on his lip, causing a condition resembling cancer—a plot orchestrated by Abu al-Huda. The official cause of death was cancer of the jaw.

The Sultan ordered him to be buried within two hours of his death. His corpse was escorted by a large number of police, for fear of a sudden uprising by his followers, who doubted the causes of his death. His grave in Istanbul remained dilapidated and abandoned for many years.

Legacy and Impact

Al-Afghani is considered one of the founders of Islamic Modernism and a pioneer of modern Muslim anti-colonialism. He advocated for

Pan-Islamic unity[33] to counteract European influence, calling for a religious and cultural revival and organizing a united response to Western pressure. He sought to revive Islamic thought and liberate the Muslim world from Western influence.

He was less interested in minor differences in Islamic jurisprudence than he was in organizing a united response to Western pressure. He actively worked to establish the foundations of mutual rapprochement between Sunnis and Shi'as.

His career as a thinker and activist had a deep impact on the Islamic world and continues to be a source of inspiration and controversy for many today. His influence remains alive in Turkey, Egypt, and Iran, and his project of Islamic Modernism that he developed in his lectures, writings, and political activism continues to resonate.

His life was a turbulent journey through Afghanistan, India, Turkey, Egypt, Persia, and Russia. He connected with the Afghan government in his youth, participating in its internal wars, and with the awakening movements in every Eastern land he visited. He travelled to many European capitals, wrote in their newspapers, spoke in their assemblies, and mixed with their political, scientific, and literary men. He witnessed the intrigues of British colonialism in Afghanistan and India, and the British pursued him in Egypt and elsewhere.

He never became attached to any country as a homeland, and the idea of nationalism, in this sense, was not part of his social doctrine. For this reason, he intensely hated the English and lived as a bitter enemy to them. He saw progress in Europe and decline in the Eastern lands he visited. He witnessed foreign influence and the evil of autocratic rule. His thought was directed towards awakening those lands as a whole and individually, holding in his heart a love for these Eastern Islamic kingdoms, which he sought to unite.

He was a man who lived as a combatant, influential in the events of the Islamic East over a period of twenty years, more than any other man of his time. His voice was loud and clear, echoing in the ears of everyone who lived in his time from his creed. Every region of the Islamic world heard his call.

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Sheikh Imam Muhammad 'Abduh

Origins and Early Life

Sheikh Muhammad 'Abduh was born in the year 1849 (or 1266 AH, according to some sources) in the village of Mahallat Nasr, in the Shubrakhit district of the Beheira province, in the Nile Delta of Egypt. The exact date of his birth remains uncertain, though most scholars agree on the year 1849. He came from a family of modest means but respectable standing. His father, 'Abduh Khair al-Din, was a man of notable physical strength and prowess, skilled in archery and horsemanship, earning him respect and influence in his community beyond what his material wealth would have afforded. His mother, whose name is not recorded in most historical sources, belonged to the famous Arab tribe of Awlad 'Ali from the Western Desert region of Upper Egypt, a lineage that would later instill in her son a deep sense of pride in his Arab identity and his connection to the desert traditions of his ancestors.

The circumstances of his parents' marriage were unusual and spoke to the turbulent times in which they lived. His father had been forced into exile, fleeing from some rulers, and during this period of displacement, he married into this prominent Arab tribe. This backstory of exile and displacement would later shape Muhammad 'Abduh's own experiences with exile and his deep empathy for the displaced and oppressed.

His father initially intended for him to follow a different path. The young Muhammad 'Abduh was sent to the village school, where he memorized the Qur'an, an achievement that was the foundation of all

Islamic education at the time. He then went to Tanta, to the Ahmadi Mosque, one of the great centres of religious learning in Egypt, to perfect his recitation and to begin his studies in the Islamic sciences.

However, his early educational journey was not straightforward. He was initially deterred from seeking knowledge and returned to his village to take up farming, marrying at a remarkably young age—despite his youth. This period of withdrawal from formal education reflects the economic realities of rural Egypt at the time, where practical labour often took precedence over scholarly pursuits.

The Sufi Awakening

The turning point in Muhammad 'Abduh's life came through his maternal uncle's household, which contained a Sufi man named Sheikh Darwish Khidr. This encounter would prove transformative. Sheikh Darwish Khidr recognized the young man's potential and intervened in his life, restraining his youthful exuberance, making him a Sufi, and sending him back to pursue knowledge in Tanta.

This Sufi awakening introduced Muhammad 'Abduh to the world of spiritual discipline and inner purification. Sufism, or Islamic mysticism, emphasizes the cultivation of the inner self, the struggle

against one's own ego, and the pursuit of a direct, personal connection with the Divine. For a young man of rural Egypt, this was a profound intellectual and spiritual opening.

The influence of this Sufi upbringing on his character cannot be denied. The Sufi path directed his youthful passions towards sacred pleasures—the pleasures of the gnostic ('arif). As Ibn Sina expressed in his Isharat (Remarks): "The gnostic storms in a burst, stirs in an hour, calms in a longing, and subsides in a moment, as if he sees the Truth within it." The gnostic is brave, for he is removed from the fear of death; generous, for he is removed from the love of falsehood; and pure, for his mind is occupied with the Truth.

These teachings, in their luminous interiority and sacred spirit, disciplined and adorned Muhammad 'Abduh's soul, shaping his character in ways that would later be evident in his work as a reformer. He learned to combine spiritual depth with intellectual rigour, a combination that became a hallmark of his approach to reform.

The Azhar Years

After returning to his studies in Tanta, Sheikh Muhammad 'Abduh travelled to Cairo to join Al-Azhar, the thousand-year-old centre of

Islamic learning that was, at that time, the intellectual heart of the Islamic world. Al-Azhar was both a place of profound scholarship and a bastion of conservatism, where the centuries-old traditions of Islamic jurisprudence and theology were taught and preserved.

At Al-Azhar, he attended the lessons of its senior scholars in various Azhari sciences—jurisprudence, theology, hadith, tafsir, and Arabic language and literature—all while continuing his engagement with Sufism. He was an eager student, absorbing the vast knowledge of the Islamic tradition while also beginning to question its rigid structures and limitations.

The turning point in his intellectual development came with the arrival of Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani in Egypt in 1871. Muhammad 'Abduh attended al-Afghani's lessons and became his constant companion. This relationship would prove decisive for his intellectual and personal development. In a short time, the benefits of his association with the Sayyid and his knowledge became evident.

Al-Afghani introduced Muhammad 'Abduh to a broader intellectual horizon that included Western philosophy, modern science, and a critical approach to Islamic tradition. He encouraged Muhammad 'Abduh to think independently, to question received wisdom, and to see religion as a force for social and political transformation rather than mere personal piety.

Under al-Afghani's influence, Muhammad 'Abduh wrote a treatise on Sufism entitled Risalat al-Waridat (The Treatise on Spiritual Influences), commented on the Maqamat, and wrote commentaries on the poems concerning the Muhammadan creed of monotheism. He also began writing articles in newspapers that attracted considerable attention, marking his entry into public intellectual life.

The First Crises

In 1876, Muhammad 'Abduh obtained the 'Alamiyya (worldly) certificate, second degree, after an examination in which it became clear that the senior scholars were critical of his independent, intellectual approach, which aligned with modern methodologies. This was a significant achievement, but the examination itself revealed the tensions that would mark his entire career. The conservative scholars of Al-Azhar were suspicious of his intellectual independence and his openness to modern ideas. This suspicion would never fully fade.

Consequently, he was appointed a teacher at the Dar al-'Ulum (House of Sciences) school and at the Khedivial School of Languages, rather than at Al-Azhar itself. This reflected the desire of the authorities to keep him away from the heart of traditional Islamic learning.

When Sayyid Jamal al-Din was exiled from Egypt in 1879, Muhammad 'Abduh was dismissed from his posts and banished to his village, where he was denied the freedom to move. This was the first of many periods of exile and persecution that he would endure. However, he was eventually pardoned and made an editor for the official newspaper Al-Waqa'i' al-Misriyya (The Egyptian Gazette), and later appointed its editor-in-chief. This position gave him a platform to reach a wider audience and to begin his work of reform in earnest.

The 'Urabi Revolution and Exile

The 'Urabi Revolution of 1881-1882 marked a turning point in modern Egyptian history. Ahmed 'Urabi[17], a colonel in the Egyptian army, led a movement against the growing influence of Europeans in Egypt and the autocratic rule of the Khedive. Muhammad 'Abduh, like many Egyptian intellectuals of the time, initially supported the revolution, seeing it as an opportunity for reform and national liberation.

When the revolution was crushed by British forces following their bombardment of Alexandria in July 1882, Muhammad 'Abduh was tried with the revolutionary leaders. He was sentenced to three years and three months of exile. He spent a portion of this exile in Syria,

where he continued his intellectual work and began to build a reputation as a reformer beyond the borders of Egypt.

In Syria, he was able to continue his teaching and writing in relative freedom. He composed Risalat al-Tawhid (The Treatise on the Oneness of God), which would become one of his most influential works, and began working on other projects that would later become central to his reformist thought.

The Paris Years and Al-'Urwah al-Wuthqa

His master, al-Afghani, called him to Europe, and together, in Paris, they published the journal Al-'Urwah al-Wuthqa (The Firmest Bond), which lasted only about eight months. This journal was a bold experiment in Pan-Islamic journalism, published in Arabic and aimed at awakening the Islamic world to the dangers of colonialism and the need for reform and unity.

Only eighteen issues were published over eight months, with the final issue appearing in October 1884. The journal was thoroughly suppressed in India and Egypt, to the extent that it had to be placed in covers to reach its intended recipients. It was even announced in the official Egyptian gazette that anyone found with Al-'Urwah al-Wuthqa

would be fined between five and twenty-five Egyptian pounds. Nevertheless, it had a profound effect on all subsequent movements for national freedom and liberty in the East, serving as a model for reformist and anti-colonial journalism.

During his time in Paris, Muhammad 'Abduh also met the philosopher Ernest Renan and engaged in debates about the relationship between Islam and science, demonstrating his ability to engage with Western intellectuals on their own terms while defending the Islamic tradition.

Beirut: The Productive Years

After the cessation of the journal, Muhammad 'Abduh moved to Beirut, where he devoted himself to teaching, authorship, and writing. This was a period of intense intellectual productivity. He composed Risalat al-Tawhid (The Treatise on the Oneness of God), his most important theological work, which sought to present Islamic theology in a rational and accessible form.

He also translated into Arabic Al-Radd 'ala al-Dahriyyin (Refutation of the Materialists), which had been written in Persian by Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani. This translation was part of his broader effort

to combat materialism and atheism in the Islamic world, and to defend religious faith on rational grounds.

He provided commentaries on Nahj al-Balagha (Peak of Eloquence), the collection of the sermons and letters of Imam Ali ibn Abi Talib, and the Maqamat of Badi' al-Zaman al-Hamadhani, the classical work of Arabic prose. These commentaries demonstrated his deep engagement with the Arabic literary tradition and his ability to combine traditional scholarship with modern analytical methods.

In Beirut, he also married his second wife after the death of his first, and began to establish a new life in exile.

The Return to Egypt and Rise to Prominence

Upon returning from his exile, Muhammad 'Abduh was appointed a civil judge, then a counsellor in the Civil Court of Appeal. He was then made the agent (deputy) for the Administration of Religious Endowments (al-Awqaf). These positions gave him practical experience in the legal and administrative systems of Egypt and allowed him to begin his work of reform from within the system.

Eventually, his renown grew to the point that he was appointed the Mufti of the Egyptian territories, the highest religious office in Egypt, remaining in this post until his death in 1905. As Mufti, he was the chief interpreter of Islamic law, whose opinions (fatwas) were legally binding on the Egyptian state.

During his tenure as Mufti, he wrote a significant report on the reform of Sharia courts, arguing that they needed to be modernized to meet the needs of a changing society. He issued important fatwas on a wide range of issues, from family law to financial transactions, always seeking to reconcile Islamic principles with the realities of modern life.

He produced a commentary on Juz' 'Amma (the 30th part of the Qur'an), as well as commentaries on several Surahs and some problematic verses. These commentaries sought to make the Qur'an more accessible to ordinary Muslims and to present its teachings in a rational and modern light.

He authored the book Al-Islam wa al-Nasraniyya ma'a al-'Ilm wa al-Madaniyya (Islam and Christianity in Relation to Science and Civilisation), which engaged with the claims of modern science and Western civilization, arguing that Islam was not opposed to reason or progress, but could be fully compatible with them.

He wrote valuable articles for magazines and newspapers on religious and secular subjects, using journalism as a medium for reform and enlightenment. His articles reached a broad audience and helped to shape public opinion on a wide range of issues.

The Reformer's Vision: Three Principles

Sheikh Muhammad 'Abduh's call for religious reform revolves around three fundamental principles that would shape his work and his legacy:

1. Liberating thought from the shackles of imitation (taqlid[2]), so that the mind is not subjugated to any authority other than that of proof, and is not dominated by the leaders of this world or the leaders of religion. This principle was the foundation of his entire project. He argued that blind imitation of past scholars had stifled intellectual creativity and prevented Muslims from adapting to the changing circumstances of modern life. Muslims needed to think for themselves, to question received opinions, and to use their reason to understand their religion.
2. Preserving religion as a beacon for science, not a rival to it. Each has its own function; both are human needs, and neither can replace the other. He rejected the claim that religion and science were

necessarily in conflict. He argued that Islam, properly understood, was a religion of reason and that the Qur'an encouraged the pursuit of knowledge. He saw no contradiction between faith and reason, and believed that the revival of Islamic civilization required a reconciliation between religious faith and scientific inquiry.

3. Understanding religion in the manner of the early ancestors (salaf), before the emergence of sectarian disputes, and returning to its original sources to acquire its knowledge. The primary sources of Islam, in its pure simplicity as brought by the Prophet himself, are the Qur'an and a limited amount of the Sunnah (Prophetic tradition) in practice. This principle, which later became central to the Salafiyya movement, argued that the later developments of Islamic theology and jurisprudence had obscured the original purity of the faith. Muslims needed to return to the foundational texts and understand them directly, without the accretions of later centuries.

The Man and His Character

Sheikh Muhammad 'Abduh was a man of remarkable presence and charisma. He was of medium stature or slightly above, with a full, robust physique, strong muscles, and agile, energetic movements. His facial features were beautiful in their entirety and detail, enhanced by a luminous white beard that surrounded a bright, radiant face with a fair forehead from which the hair had receded, rising to reveal a space that spoke of intellect, will, and intelligence. His eyes, of moderate

width, possessed a captivating brilliance that filled the beholder with awe, admiration, and life.

His companion and biographer, Mustafa 'Abd al-Raziq, wrote: "I bear witness that the beauty of Sheikh Muhammad 'Abduh was among the forces God had harnessed for his genius; and his sweet, compelling voice was also among the forces of his genius."

The late Qasim Bey Amin, in describing the Master, wrote: "The goodness of his soul reached a degree that was almost limitless. Goodness attracted him as a magnet attracts iron—he would rush towards it and strive for any benefit for others, general or particular. He was a refuge for the poor, the orphans, the oppressed, the rejected, and those afflicted by any calamity. And the people of Al-Azhar, who are the most in need of help, for they are the backward ones, unable to defend themselves in the arena of our modern life, in the midst of present-day civilisation. He would exert his effort for the dearest person to him, but he would also strive for the one who needed help even if he knew that person had wronged him, slandered him, and conspired with his enemies to spread slander and gossip, which never ceased against him for a single day during his life. The Master believed that evil is absolutely useless, and that tolerance and forgiveness for everything and for every person are the best cure for wrongdoing, and the most beneficial for reforming its perpetrator."

Sheikh Muhammad 'Abduh engaged with governmental positions, political affairs, the scientific and literary movement, and acts of charity. In all these fields, he had a fruitful activity, a reforming opinion, and a determination that knew no retreat or fatigue. However, the field in which he spent the best of his health, energy, intellect, knowledge, and eloquence was the field of religious reform.

Influence and Legacy

Sheikh Muhammad 'Abduh had opponents who hated him, plotted against him, and placed obstacles in the path of his reform; yet no one could diminish his status or shake his dignity. On the contrary, all sought to win his approval, saw proximity to him as a source of pride, and considered being counted among his followers an honour. His ability to maintain his dignity and influence despite the fierce opposition he faced testifies to the strength of his character and the power of his ideas.

He was beloved, venerated, and recognized for an unmatched rank of Imamate among the elite classes of Egyptians and among the foreign communities in Egypt. His fame spread throughout the Eastern lands, and all eyes turned towards him. He was respected by both Muslims and non-Muslims, by Egyptians and by foreigners, by traditionalists and by modernists.

Had Sheikh Muhammad 'Abduh wished, he could have been wealthy, leaving his respected, ailing widow a fortune to ensure her comfort in her old age after him, and to protect her from the humiliation of poverty. But the Master Imam was too great of spirit and too deeply contemptuous of this world to exert his effort in accumulating wealth. Thus, he lived great and poor, and died poor and great.

His death on 11 July 1905 marked the end of an era, but his influence continued to grow in the decades that followed. His students, including his successor as Mufti, Sheikh Muhammad Bakhit, and the founder of the Salafiyya movement, Rashid Rida, carried on his work and spread his ideas throughout the Islamic world.

His approach to religious reform, his defence of reason and science, and his call for Islamic unity and anti-colonial resistance, continue to be debated and engaged with to this day. He remains one of the most important and influential figures in modern Islamic thought, a bridge between the traditional Islamic past and the modern world.

The Three Pillars of His Reform

Sheikh Muhammad 'Abduh's reformist vision can be understood through three interconnected pillars that shaped his entire project:

The Intellectual Pillar: Liberation from Taqlid

At the heart of Muhammad 'Abduh's reform was the call to liberate the mind from the shackles of blind imitation (taqlid). He argued that for centuries, Muslims had been taught to follow the opinions of past scholars without question, stifling intellectual creativity and preventing the development of new ideas. This had led to the stagnation of Islamic civilization and its inability to respond to the challenges of the modern world.

He called for a return to independent reasoning (ijtihad[3]), arguing that Muslims had the right and the duty to think for themselves, to question received opinions, and to interpret the sources of their religion in light of their own circumstances and needs. This was not a rejection of tradition, but a call to engage with it critically and creatively.

The Spiritual Pillar: Religion as a Beacon for Science

Muhammad 'Abduh rejected the claim that religion and science were in conflict. He argued that Islam, properly understood, was a religion of reason that encouraged the pursuit of knowledge and the exploration of the natural world. He saw no contradiction between faith and reason, and believed that the revival of Islamic civilization required a reconciliation between religious faith and scientific inquiry.

He argued that Muslims had fallen behind the West not because Islam was opposed to science, but because they had neglected the rational and intellectual dimensions of their own tradition. By returning to the original sources of their faith and engaging with them in a spirit of inquiry, Muslims could reclaim their intellectual heritage and compete with the West on its own terms.

The Historical Pillar: Returning to the Ancestors

Muhammad 'Abduh called for a return to the understanding of the early ancestors (salaf), before the emergence of sectarian disputes and the later developments of Islamic theology and jurisprudence. He argued that the early Muslims had understood their religion in its pure simplicity, and that the later additions and elaborations had obscured this original purity.

By returning to the original sources of Islam—the Qur'an and the Sunnah—and understanding them in the manner of the early ancestors, Muslims could recapture the authentic spirit of their faith and use it to guide their lives in the modern world. This approach would later become the foundation of the Salafiyya movement, which continues to be influential to this day.

A Final Reflection

Sheikh Muhammad 'Abduh was a man of profound contradictions—a traditionalist who embraced modernity, a scholar who was also a politician, a Sufi who was also a rationalist. He was a man of his time, shaped by the challenges and opportunities of the late nineteenth century, but his ideas continue to resonate in the twenty-first century.

He was a reformer who sought to revitalize Islam, to make it relevant to the modern world, and to enable Muslims to compete with the West on equal terms. He believed that Islam was not opposed to reason, science, or progress, but that Muslims had neglected these dimensions of their tradition. By returning to the original sources of their faith and engaging with them in a spirit of inquiry, Muslims could reclaim their intellectual heritage and build a better future.

His legacy is complex and contested. Some see him as a great reformer who modernized Islam, others as a heretic who undermined tradition. But whatever one's view, there can be no doubt that he was one of the most important and influential figures in modern Islamic thought, a bridge between the traditional Islamic past and the modern world.

As Mustafa 'Abd al-Raziq wrote in his introduction to this collection: "The legacy of a scholar is immortalised in the books in which he deposits his genius; the artistic work of an artist is immortalised in his art. But the reformer is he who prepares for his community a supreme ideal that it had not known before him, and strives to turn hearts towards that ideal—a striving that reveals the strength of his own soul and his determination, and the abundance of genius and inspiration bestowed upon him."

Sheikh Muhammad 'Abduh was such a reformer. He prepared for his community a supreme ideal of a reformed, rational, and dynamic Islam that could compete with the West and build a better future for Muslims. He strove to turn hearts towards that ideal, and in doing so, he revealed the strength of his own soul and his determination, and the abundance of genius and inspiration bestowed upon him.

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The Opening Editorial of Al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqa

In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful.

“To You we have turned, and to You we have returned, and to You is the final destiny.”

This is what Divine Providence extends, concerning the conditions of the East, and upon God we rely for the success of this work.

The ambitions of the greedy have been concealed for ages, then they appeared. They began on paths that souls perhaps do not recall, then they deviated. The powerful among the nations advanced in their march with the weak, until they traversed the desert of thought, enchanted their minds until they bewildered them about themselves, and led them out of the sphere of order, and brought them to the limits of destructive chaos.

Some people went towards what delusion suggests and what the devil of fantasy entices, thinking that mechanical power, however few its workers, can maintain a lasting dominion over a great numerical majority, even if its individuals are united. They even claimed that it is possible to annihilate a vast multitude with a mere handful—a notion that reason rejects and proof utterly invalidates. For the fluctuations of events in distant and recent times declare that while it may have been possible for a small tribe to settle among a great nation and have its name and lineage erased, it has never been possible, in any era, to annihilate a great nation or creed by a power equal to it in number, or maintaining a comparable ratio, even if that power reached the utmost limits of what imagination can conceive.

What sound reason dictates, and what the course of human society testifies to, from the earliest known history to today, is that when great nations are afflicted with weakness due to disunity of purpose, heedlessness of undesirable consequences, complacency in a fleeting comfort, or infatuation with a vanishing pleasure—and then an alien power pounces upon them, harassing and somewhat awakening them—if the shocks of events then follow in succession, and their pains trouble them, they will resort to preserving what exists and recovering what is lost. They will find no escape but to seek deliverance by any means. At that moment, they will sense their true strength, which lies in the cohesion of their individuals and the union of their parts. Divine inspiration, innate instinct, and religious teaching will guide them to realize that they have no need for what they are offered, which is actually the easiest thing for them.

Indeed, human souls—no matter how corrupted their nature and habits may become—when gathered in great numbers under a recognized bond, do not endure injustice except to a limit that falls within their capacity and ability. When that limit is exceeded, souls return to their inherent strength, their pride becomes fierce, their instincts become defiant, and they seek their salvation. They will not lack guidance in their quest. They may err once and the circle may turn against them, but the mistake they make teaches them to remedy what was lost and to guard against falling into the like again. Then they will succeed the next time, and victory and dominance will be theirs. Moreover, if the movement that arises to repel the unbearable is managed by a guardian and directed by a leader, it is not enough to stop its flow or erase its traces merely by crushing that guardian or destroying that leader. For the cause is a deeply rooted internal ailment—like a stagnant, hidden fever—which, even if buried, will resurface more ferociously and with keener insight. Yes, its effect can be mitigated or removed only by removing its cause and eliminating its sources.

It is the custom of nations to ally with those similar to them, out of caution and prudence, and the Lawgiver does not burden them with more than they owe to those of their own kind. So what if they are burdened with what is beyond their capacity? Undoubtedly, they will reject it, even if they are haughty about it. Every time they reject it, they distance themselves from inclination toward it, and every time they distance themselves from it due to its foreignness, they draw

closer to one another. At that point, they belittle it and cast it off like a pit—and this is not surprising. Exceeding the limit in spreading aggression makes nations forget their differences in nationality and race, and unites them in facing the common danger and in repelling fatal calamity. In this state, the call of human nature to agreement is stronger than its call to cooperate in seeking profit.

Are not the wise aware that this is the source of the intellectual movement now stirring in the East? Each seeks deliverance and salvation, and adopts whatever means and causes they can reach—according to their level of guidance and insight—to turn scattered powers into a single force capable of upholding the rights of all.

Indeed, this is a matter expected by the insightful, even if the greedy are blind to it. It is not possible to convince the greedy with proof, but what time brings forth from its habits in its children, and what the course of daily events reveals—the schemes of the plotters will themselves become evident and their eventual fates will be known.

Do not think that the foreigners are unaware of the suffering of the Easterners, or that they are heedless of the reach of injustice among them, or that they are ignorant of their uprisings. Especially among the Muslims among them—there are kings who have been unjustly dethroned, rightful heirs to power who have been wrongfully

deprived, the mighty who have become lowly, the noble who have become contemptible, and the rich who have become poor, and the honorable who have become humiliated. The world has seen from them what it has seen, and they have remained in their state for a long time, tasting the harm of the excessive greed of the ambitious, particularly as a result of those events whose seeds were sown in the Egyptian lands about five years ago by the hands of those with ambitions for it. They introduced to the country what it did not know, bewildering its minds; they imposed upon it what it was not accustomed to, confounding its intellects; they burdened it beyond its capacity, causing its strength to rebel; and they broke the power of the deterrent under the name of justice, all to prepare a way to attain their goal. Thus came the blind 'Urabi movement, which they used as a pretext for what they sought. They were driven by the torrent of difficulties—rather, the flood of calamities—upon that country, thinking they would achieve their goal. But they erred in their assumption, and they tasted what they did not attain.

The judgment on that movement has now been issued; its immediate consequences have passed, and its end was sealed. But another movement has arisen, with a cause that holds the highest place in the hearts of Muslims—indeed, it is the remnant of their hopes. We do not know now what this new movement will bring about. Perhaps there are those who know that its instigators are perplexed about how to manage it. Yes, they planted a seed, but they will reap—or rather, they are now reaping—from it bitter fruit and poisonous colocynth. Undoubtedly, these are the consequences that are inevitable for those

who overreach in their greed and delve deeply into their avarice. Had they left the matter from that time to its rightful owners, and delegated the remedy of each incident to those who are expert, capable, and knowledgeable in ways to repel or benefit from it, they would have preserved their interests and obtained the abundant profits they desired, without stumbling or defeat.

But they pursued excess, and what they found—disunity of purpose and scattered desires—emboldened them. It is their most penetrating tool and most deadly weapon. Yet they do not know that, although it is a swift means of destruction, it is also quickly perishable. How soon it turns, when hardships intensify, into a unifying factor that stops the hearts of the aggressors! For if the oppression of injustice befalls a portion of a nation while the rest are spared, the safety of the part consoles the afflicted and serves as a veil of heedlessness for the saved, separating them from feeling what has befallen their brothers. But when harm becomes general, then undoubtedly, vexation will surround them, patience will become difficult, and they will rush toward what is good for them, which holds no good for others.

The dire state that the Egyptian lands have come to is not easy for the souls of Muslims generally to bear. Egypt is considered among them as sacred ground, holding a place in their hearts that none other occupies, due to its position among Islamic kingdoms and because it is the gateway to the Two Holy Sanctuaries. If this is the case, then this incident has rekindled the thoughts of Muslims who were in doubt

about the safety of a great pillar of the Islamic faith. The danger that has befallen Egypt has stirred the innermost feelings of Muslims, and their hearts have spoken of it. The pain will continue to provoke them as long as the wound is fresh. This is not surprising for Muslims, for their religious bond is stronger than ties of nationality and language. As long as the Qur'an is among them, and its verses contain what is not lost on the minds of its readers, the era will never succeed in humiliating them. The tragedy in Egypt stirred hidden sorrows, revived unforeseen griefs, and pain coursed through the souls of Muslims like belief penetrates their perceptions.

They look to the past and observe the present, drawing lessons from hardships. We fear that the pain may soon affect souls far and wide—nay, in every region—until the suppressed resentment tears through the ears of the oppressors.

The first to be wary of these consequences are a generation of people who have no foothold in the East except through the favour of the great states, who know neither the nature of the Easterners nor the ways to manage them except through appeasement. They appear in various colours and similar forms—as protectors of the thrones of kings, defenders of their kingdoms, placaters of the mighty, soothers of minds, extricators of states from the dangers of rebellion, and guardians of the interests of the vanquished. The first thing they must observe in their course is not to rush into actions that would break this delicate thread, which is sufficient to confound them and make them

look back and think again. They must avoid violence with a nation whose history testifies that if it becomes enraged, it strangles. They should not be deceived by their lack of means, knowing that once the word is united, the means will not be lacking, nor will the united ones lack a strong, formidable power that will assist them in promoting their policy. The enraged party does not care whether it harms its adversary safely or fatally; it will harm to cause harm, if harm touches it.

However, the blindness of greed has overwhelmed the minds of the greedy, and their ears have become deaf to the whispers circulating from India to Mecca and from Mecca to Egypt, and the cry extending from Egypt to Mecca and from Mecca to India—all converging between the collarbones of those arrogant in their power, reckless in their harshness. The recent calamities that have struck the most important parts of the East have renewed ties and brought together distant regions, whose boundaries are connected by the unity of belief among their inhabitants. They have awakened the minds of the wise and turned their attention to what the outcome of their affairs will be, while noting the causes that brought them to their current state. They have drawn closer in thought, communicated in seeking truth, and turned to treating the causes of weakness, hoping to recover some of the strength they have lost, and hoping that events will pave a good path for them to safeguard their religion and honour. In the present, there is a golden opportunity to seize, and towards it they have stretched out their hands, not thinking they will miss it. If it escapes

them, how many like it are hidden in the unseen! To God is the final outcome of all affairs.

Groups of those wise ones have formed in several regions, especially in the Indian and Egyptian lands, for this noble purpose. They are feeling the causes of success from every side, unifying the word of truth in every place, without flagging in effort or sparing any exertion, even if it leads to the worst that a living being fears for its life. Since they find among their own those who share their plight, they saw fit to bind strong ties of religion, make the foundations of their efforts the general well-being, and seek help from the people of Europe. They have taken upon themselves the responsibility of considering the matter of the general Islamic authority and the duties of its leader. Since Mecca—the source of religion and the centre of certainty, where the general pilgrimage gathers every year, bringing together Easterners and Westerners, and where the great and the humble, the rich and the poor, fraternize in its pure places—is the best city to which their thoughts flow, and from which they spread to all directions, and which guides whom it wills to the right path...

To achieve the goal in a way that is furthest from danger and closest to victory, requiring the caller to have in every sound heart a breath of truth and a call of sincerity, they have sought several ways to spread their ideas among their brothers who are unaware of their cause. They have chosen to have, in these days, a newspaper in the noblest of their tongues—the Arabic tongue—and to be based in a free city like Paris,

so that its columns can reach the Eastern regions, enlightening the heedless and awakening the forgetful. They turned to a respected figure, capable of bearing the burden of this enterprise... and he responded to their wish.

The newspaper and its approach: It will come to serve the Easterners, as much as possible, by clarifying the duties whose neglect was the cause of their current affliction, and the principles upon which their power was originally founded. It will warn them against the dangers of what is to come. This will be followed by an examination of the fundamental causes and origins of the shortcomings that have relegated them to a position of weakness and decline, into the valley of hardship where they are lost, the guide is bewildered, and the travellers do not know from which direction the terrifying calamities will strike them.

It will strive, as much as possible, to remove the doubts that have obscured the horizons of faith, closed the paths of guidance, and dispel the whisperings that have seized the minds of the afflicted, causing them to despair of treating their ailments and healing their diseases. They imagined that the world's previous eras had run their course, and that the time of their ruin had come. It is not too much to instil in souls that the first step on the path to the goal of salvation—which is within the grasp of those who possess it and who are astonished by the weakness and decline of their state—is not far. The key to the door is but a glance of attention and a few short steps. To appear in a

manifestation of strength to ward off disasters, it is necessary to adhere to some of the principles upon which the fathers of the Easterners and their ancestors stood—principles that the most powerful and impenetrable European state adheres to. It is not proper to imitate the European path in its details, nor in the paths by which some other Western states have strayed. There is no need for the Easterner, at his starting point, to stand where the European stands at his end—indeed, he should not seek that. The past is the truest witness that whoever sought that has burdened himself and his nation with a weight that has incapacitated and impoverished them.

It must be noted that balance in inherent and acquired powers is the preserver of political relations and ties. If balance is lost, the bond is merely a means for the strong to swallow the weak, and it makes the tenderness of pledges appear in the colours of flattery, disguised in the forms of compliments—a deception that belies its treacherous nature.

It will delve into the subtle paths through which the ambitious creep in the darkness of heedlessness. It will strive to repel the false accusations thrown at the Easterners in general, and the Muslims in particular, by those who have no knowledge of their condition or understanding of their true affairs. It will refute the claim of those who assert that Muslims cannot progress towards civilisation as long as they adhere to the principles by which their forefathers—the early ones—triumphed. It will clarify what is meant by the civilizational progress they speak of, and the deceptions that politicians weave into

their doubts, separating the truthful from the liar, nullifying falsehood, and considering in its demands the strengthening of the praised bond among nations, the fostering of unity among individuals, and the restoration of the common partnership between them and the civilizing powers, to which there is no inclination to abandon what they are rightfully owed, nor to leave them to their ignorance.

With all this, this newspaper will follow the path of its proponents and bearers; it will not appear when they set out in the darkness, nor disappear when they return in the dusk. It will go the ways of guidance and, with God's help, hit its mark with those for whom, in God's eternal knowledge, guidance was ordained. God guides whom He wills to a straight path. It will be sent to those who desire it, whether noble or common, rich or poor. Those who cannot reach us directly need only write to the newspaper's administration with their known name and address, specifying the amount they wish to pay, and God is the Grantor of success.

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Chapter One: Nationality and the Islamic Faith

An examination of the condition of individuals within every nation, and an inquiry into their inclinations, establishes for the keen and the deep-sighted alike the existence of a prejudice for one's own race and a zeal for it among the majority of them. Those who are prejudiced in favour of their race tend to boast of the achievements and glories of its sons, and become enraged when their people are wronged, sometimes even risking their lives in its defence, without perceiving the reason for this attachment or investigating the source of the sentiment. This has led many seekers of truth to believe that racial prejudice is among the natural instincts.

However, this belief is contradicted by what we see in the case of a child born of a people, who, before the age of discernment, is taken to the land of another nation and raised there until he matures, without ever being told of his birthplace. For we see no innate inclination in him towards it; rather, his mind is entirely free of it, and he is indifferent to all nations alike, perhaps even more inclined and familiar with those who raised him. The natural does not change.

For this reason, we do not consider it natural. Rather, it may be among the faculties that are acquired by the soul, imprinted upon its tablets by necessity. For a human being in any land has numerous needs, and among his individuals there is a tendency towards exclusivity and the desire to monopolize benefit, if they are not imbued with a pure upbringing. The breadth of ambition and the desire for expansion often lead them to encroach upon the rights of others. This drove

them, after long ages of struggling against evil, to unite through the bond of lineage, on varying degrees, until they divided into peoples and tribes—like the Arabs, Persians, Turks, Turkmens, and the like—so that each tribe, by the cohesive strength of its individuals, could safeguard its own affairs and preserve its rights from the hands of others, and to prevent the domination of one over another.

This is the custom of humanity in its various stages—they went so far that each tribe would disdain the authority of another over it, knowing full well that if it rules, it will inevitably be unjust. For even if it is just, submitting to its rule entails a humiliation that the soul feels and the heart resents.

If the necessity for this type of prejudice disappears, it will follow necessity in its disappearance, just as it followed it in its occurrence—and there is no doubt about it. This necessity is abolished by reliance upon a Ruler before Whose power all forces become insignificant, and before Whose greatness all ability appears feeble, and for Whose authority souls abandon avarice. All are equal in standing before Him—He is the Origin of all things and the Subduer of the heavens and the earth. Then, the one appointed to implement His judgments is a partner with all others in submission and acquiescence to the decrees of the Most Just of Judges.

When souls submit to the existence of the Supreme Ruler, and are certain of the partner of the executor of His judgments among all people, in whatever He commands, they become reassured in the preservation of their rights and the repulsion of evil to the possessor of this sacred authority. They are thus freed from the need for racial prejudice, as they no longer have any need for it. It is then erased from their souls. And the judgment belongs to God, the Most High, the Great.

This is the secret behind the indifference of Muslims—despite the diversity of their regions—to considerations of nationality, and their rejection of any type of partisanship other than their Islamic solidarity. For the one who is devoted to the Islamic faith, when his belief is firmly rooted in him, is distracted from his race and his people, and turns away from particular ties towards the general relationship—the relationship of creed.

Because the Islamic religion was not limited merely to calling creation to the truth and observing the conditions of souls, as if it were a spirituality confined to this lower world, aspiring to a higher one. Rather, as it encompassed this, it came fulfilling the task of establishing the limits of transactions between servants, clarifying rights in their entirety and in detail, and defining the deterring authority that would implement projects, enforce legal punishments, and set its conditions. This was so that the one holding its reins would be among the most submissive to it, attaining it not through

inheritance, nor through privilege of race or tribe, nor through physical strength or financial wealth, but by adhering to the rulings of the Sharia and the ability to implement them, and by the satisfaction of the nation.

Thus, the deterrent for Muslims is, in reality, their sacred Divine Law, which makes no distinction between one race and another, and the consensus of the nation's opinions. The ruler has no privilege over them except in being the most zealous in preserving the Sharia and defending it. All the pride that lineages earn, and all the privileges that noble descent bestows, the Lawgiver has given no effect to in safeguarding rights, protecting lives, property, and honour. Rather, every bond other than the bond of the true Sharia is detested by the tongue of the Lawgiver, the one who relies upon it is blameworthy, and the one who is prejudiced for it is condemned. The Prophet (peace be upon him) said: “He is not of us who calls for partisanship, he is not of us who fights for partisanship, and he is not of us who dies for partisanship.” The Prophetic hadiths and the revealed verses are numerous and consistent on this point.

What distinguishes a person with honour and respect above all others, however, is piety and adherence to the Sharia: “Indeed, the most noble of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you.”

Throughout various ages, many of those who have managed the affairs of Muslims have been those with no prestige in their race, no privilege in their tribe, who did not inherit kingship from their fathers, nor sought it through any aspect of their lineage or descent. Nothing raised them to the seat of authority except their submission to the Law and their care for its preservation. The extent of the dominion of the rulers among Muslims was granted to them according to their obedience to the Divine rulings, their adherence to its guidance, and their freedom from personal arrogance. Whenever a ruler sought to distinguish himself with what elevates him above others—in his majesty and luxurious living—or to monopolise an extra share for himself over the governed, the races returned to their prejudices, discord occurred, and that ruler's authority shrank.

This is what the course of Muslims from the very dawn of their religion until now has taught us: they do not regard the bonds of peoples and the partisan prejudices of races; rather, they look to the bond of religion. This is why you see the Arab does not resent the authority of the Turk, nor the Persian the rule of the Arab, nor the Indian the rule of the Persian, nor the Egyptian that of the Moroccan. You see no sense of superiority or resentment among any of them when the government passes from one tribe to another, as long as the ruler preserves the integrity of the Sharia and follows its paths. Yes, if he deviates from it in his conduct, becomes unjust in his rule contrary to its text, and seeks selfishness, the unity dissolves, hearts are rent, aspirations are severed, and he becomes—even if he is a fellow countryman—more detestable to them than a foreigner.

Muslims, uniquely among the followers of other religions, feel grief and sorrow when they hear of the separation of any Islamic land from Islamic rule, without regard to its race or tribe. If a minor ruler among a Muslim people—of any race whatsoever—were to follow the divine commands, diligently observe them, compel the common people with their limits, share equally with the governed in submission to them, and avoid monopolising false privileges of vainglory, he could attain vast dominion and great authority, and achieve the highest rank in all the lands inhabited by the followers of this religion. He would not need to endure hardships, nor spend great sums, nor multiply armies, nor depend upon the support of great powers, nor interfere with the allies of civilisation and the advocates of freedom. He would be able to do without all of this by following the path of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs and returning to the original principles of the upright Islamic faith. If he does this, power will follow him, and the necessities of honour will be renewed.

This confirms the statement that the Islamic religion was not directed, as other religions were, only towards the Hereafter. Rather, with that, it came with what ensures the righteousness of the servants in their worldly affairs, what preserves for them happiness in the afterlife—which is expressed in the Sharia as the happiness of both abodes—and it brought equality in its rulings between the different races and diverse nations.

The eye of time has become white, and the colour of the age has faded, until we see that some Muslims, though rare, find it hard to be patient and their hearts are too narrow to bear the tyranny of their rulers and their deviation from the principles of divine justice in their dealings. When this happens, they are eager to break free from their authority at the cost of their lives, at the very first step they take on this path. They are like one who seeks to kill himself, but when he feels the pain, he recoils and draws back.

Indeed, some of the fragmentation and division that occurs in the Islamic kingdoms has its origin in the shortcomings of the rulers and their deviation from the sound principles upon which the Islamic faith was founded, and their departure from the paths of their earlier ancestors. For abandoning the fundamental pillars and deviating from the familiar paths is most harmful to the supreme authority. If the rulers in Islam return to the foundations of their Sharia and follow the way of the earlier pioneers, it will not be long before they are granted vast dominion and joined with the Rightly-Guided Caliphs in honour. May God grant us success and guide us to the path of righteousness.

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Chapter Two: The Past and Present of the Nation and the Remedy for its Ills

“Such is the Way of Allah among those who passed away before. And you will never find any change in the Way of Allah.” (Qur'an 33:62)

Have you seen a nation that was not famously distinguished, and then the darkness of non-existence parted from it? Then behold, with the zeal of each of its individuals, it becomes a creation of marvelous order, strong in pillars, firm in construction, surrounded by a bulwark of fierce might, and encompassed by a fence of lofty ambitions. The storms of calamities are extinguished in its arenas, and the knots of complex problems are unraveled by the hands of its managers. The branches of glory grow in it after its roots are firmly planted, and its dominion extends over the distant and the near. Its authority penetrates, its word is elevated, and its strength spreads just as its mighty pillars spread. Its origins are established, its foundations are laid, and it excels over all that came before it and its contemporaries. The other nations feel that there is no happiness except in following its path and embracing its law. It becomes, though small in number, vast in influence, as if it were the directing spirit of the world, and they are its active body.

Then, after all this, its structure weakens, its order scatters, desires diverge within it, and its unity is broken. What was united becomes dispersed, and what was bound becomes unraveled. The ties of cooperation are severed, and the bonds of solidarity are cut. Its individuals are diverted to their own private affairs and the preservation of their personal interests. Each one is confined to the limited circle of his own existence, not perceiving in his horizons any glimmer of the nation's comprehensive or partial rights. He is heedless of the fact that the necessities of his needs can only be obtained through the hands of those bonded with him by the bonds of the nation; that he is in greater need of strengthening their arms than of fortifying his own, and in greater need of enriching their good than of increasing his own livelihood. As if, by this heedlessness, he is in a slumber that the observer mistakes for wakefulness, and a withering that the deluded one mistakes for blossoming. Despair seizes the hopes of those bewildered ones and annihilates them, and a sense of fatalism and contentment with any state is generated in them.

If the conscience of one of them is awakened to the truth in a fleeting thought, or a motive in his heart stirs him to what would restore honour to his nation or return glory to it, he considers it a whim and a delusion caused by a weakness in his temperament or a flaw in his constitution. Or he believes that if he answered the call of conscience, it would return upon him with calamity and lead him to the causes of destruction, or would be among the nearest means to the loss of his well-being and the misery of his livelihood. He then chains himself with chains of cowardice and shackles of despair. His hands are bound

from action, and his feet are paralyzed from striving. He then feels a humiliating weakness in every great matter and a devastating frailty in every important step. His creative mind freezes from understanding what his forefathers before him accomplished—those fathers who left him as a successor to what they earned, and who spared him the hardships they endured for his sake. All this lethargy and laziness is sufficient to cast the nation into the abyss of destruction and throw it upon the bed of death, a prey for every aggressor and a morsel for every devourer.

Yes, you have seen many nations that were not, and then were; that rose and then fell; that grew strong and then grew weak; that were mighty and then became abased; that were healthy and then became sick. But is there not a cure for every illness? Yes. And alas, how difficult the disease is! And how scarce the cure is! And how few are those who know the methods of treatment!

How can the nation be healed after its disintegration, and after its members have become preoccupied with their own affairs—each one so engrossed in his own concerns that he is heedless of his brother, as if they were separate members of a body, each existing independently, each feeling its own pain alone, each unaware of its connection to the whole? Yes, perhaps each one attends to what is in the nature of every living being—the preservation of his own life through sustenance—but he does not know from which direction it comes, nor how to secure it. How can ambition be revived after its death, and it

only died after a long period of complacency with what is beneath its true station? Is it easy to bring back the straying one to the straight path while he believes that success lies in following another, especially after he has turned his back on his true goal, and in every step he thinks he is close to triumph? How can the one immersed in his sleep, delighted by his dreams, be awakened, when his ears are deaf and his senses are numb? Is there a cry that can strike the hearts of the scattered individuals of a great nation, whose regions are distant, whose borders are remote, and whose customs and natures are diverse? Is there a call that can gather its scattered desires and unify its conflicting opinions, after ignorance has accumulated, and oppression has prevailed, and it has been imagined in the minds that every near thing is far, and every easy thing is rugged?

By God, it is a difficult thing, which the physician wearies in treating, and the wise thinker is perplexed by. Can the remedy be determined without knowing the root of the disease and its primary causes, and the complications that have befallen it? If the illness is in a nation, how can one reach its ills and causes without knowing its age and the vicissitudes of its changing conditions and varying stages? Can a physician treating a specific person choose a type of treatment before knowing what has afflicted him in his past life, so that he is clear about the true nature of the disease? Otherwise, many diseases have their germs formed in one stage of life, but do not appear until another stage, because the strength of nature overcomes the substance of the disease, so its effect does not appear? No! It is difficult even for a skilled physician to diagnose the illness of a single person whose age

is limited and the vicissitudes of whose life are circumscribed. So how about one who wants to treat a nation of long duration and abundant numbers?

For this reason, it is rare, across the ages, to find men who can revive a nation or restore its glory and honour, although those who imitate them are many. Just as a quack doctor in bodily diseases only increases the severity of the illness—were it not for the assistance of coincidence or luck—and may even lead the patient to death, so is the case of those who undertake to reform the morals of nations without complete knowledge of their condition, the reasons for their illness, the aspects of the malady in them, their varieties, and what surrounds that in terms of customs, the schools of thought and beliefs of their individuals, and the successive events in their different locations on earth, their former high station, and their current low degree, and their gradual progression between the two stations. If the one seeking to reform them errs in grasping any of what we have mentioned, the remedy becomes a poison, and the existence becomes an annihilation.

Whoever has a share in human perfection, and whose heart is not blinded to the place of divine inspiration, does not dare to undertake what they call the education of nations and the reform of their corruption, while he feels in himself the slightest deficiency in performing this great task, whether in knowledge or in action. Rather, this is done by those who love false vainglory and seek to live under the shadow of positions to which they have no right.

Let it not be thought that the writings and articles alone are enough to reform the morals of nations, to awaken their thoughts, and to straighten their morals... How can this be true, when even if we assume that books of instruction are abundant and numerous, you will not find readers for them, and if you find readers, you will rarely find one who understands. The one who understands may carry what he finds to something other than what is intended, due to a narrowness in his perception or an inclination of his desires, and it will only have a bad effect, like food that does not suit the temperament and increases the harm. Moreover, if the ambition is at the lowest level, who can make them understand the benefit of newspapers so that their inclinations are directed towards exploring what is in them, while they are afflicted with the distraction of events? This, by God, is a difficult matter.

Other people imagine that a nation dispersed over vast areas of land, with scattered desires, and complacent with a station far below its true rank by countless degrees, content with a lowly life and seeking honour by affiliating with those who are not of its race or persuasion—indeed, with those who were once submissive to its sovereignty and subject to its rule—despite all this, it can be healed from these fatal diseases by establishing public schools all at once in every region of its land, on the modern European model, until knowledge becomes general among all individuals in a short time, and when knowledge is general, morals will be perfected, the word will be

united, and strength will be gathered. How far they are from what they imagine! For this great work can only be undertaken by a strong, dominant authority that compels the nation to endure what it dislikes for a long time until it tastes its sweetness and reaps its fruit. Then, its genuine inclination will later replace its authority in implementing what it intended for its good. And it requires abundant wealth sufficient for the expenses of those schools, which are many. But our subject is weakness and its remedy. Can there be an authority that compels and wealth that suffices in a state of weakness? And if the nation had these two, it would not be counted among the fallen.

If they say: Gradual progress is possible with persistence and firmness; we agree on the possibility, were it not for the greed of the powerful, who do not leave them any way to even breathe the breeze of strength. So where is the time for the success of those slow-acting means? Moreover, even if we assume that time is favorable and the nation is granted a period sufficient to instill some of those sciences in some individuals and to increase them gradually, can it be judged that this gradual process benefits it with a substantial benefit, and that what a portion of it acquires prepares it for the perfection befitting it and enables it to guide the rest of the sons of its nation? How astonishing! How can this be, when the nation is far from knowing those sciences alien to it? How were their seeds sown? How did they sprout, grow, ripen, and bear fruit? With what water were they watered, and with what soil were they nourished, with no knowledge of the goal intended from them in their origin, nor experience of the fruits that result from them? Even if a part of that reaches them, it is merely superficial talk,

not a reality. Is it then possible to imagine that surprising some individuals with them and introducing them to minds full of other things will straighten their thoughts, reform their morals, and guide them to the paths of guidance in benefiting their brothers?

It is most likely that those who receive such sciences—when their minds are full of the familiar illusions about them, and what is deeply rooted in their souls from childhood, and what they venerate about the nation from which they received those sciences—they will be among their own nation like a strange mixture that only increases its nature in corruption. What will become of those newly educated individuals? Their sources of knowledge are not from their own hearts, and if they are sincere in serving their homelands, they will act according to their state. They will perform what they have learned as they heard it, without regard to the proportion between it and the nation's customs, natures, and ingrained habits. They will use it in a way other than its proper place. Due to their distance from its source, their amusement with its present over its past, and their heedlessness of its future, they think it—as they have received it—is perfection for every soul and life for every spirit. They will demand from the small what cannot be demanded except from the great, and vice versa, looking only at the forms of what they have learned, and not thinking about the readiness of those they are teaching, and whether it has a place in their natures that is commendable, or whether it only increases what they already have manifold. This is only because they are not the masters of this knowledge, but rather its carriers and transporters.

These sincere ones—except those whom God has granted success through His divine care—are like a loving mother who delights in a food and thus gives it to her child, who is still a suckling, so he can share her pleasure, but his age is that of an infant who cannot accept it, so illness swiftly comes to him and ends in his destruction. Their position in the nation is like that of a mechanical device that scatters the remaining community and dissipates the last remnants of cohesion. If corruption had left the nation some ties, these deluded ones obscure them with what distracts from them. They intended only good, if they were sincere, but they thus widen the breaches until they become doors, and they widen the distance between the banks until they become fields for foreign intervention under the guise of counsel and the title of reform. They lead their nation to annihilation and disintegration, and what an evil end!

The Ottomans and the Egyptians established many schools on the modern model, and sent groups among them to the Western countries to carry what they need of sciences, knowledge, arts, and literature—all that they call civilization, which is in reality the civilization of the countries where it originated, according to the system of nature and the course of human society. Have the Egyptians and Ottomans benefited from what they provided for themselves, after considerable time has passed? Have they become better than they were before clinging to this new rope? Have they saved themselves from the fangs of poverty and destitution? Have they escaped by it from the predicaments into which the foreigners lead them through their

interventions? Have they fortified their fortresses and closed their gaps? Have they obtained by it the strength to repel the raids of their enemies? Have they attained such foresight and control over their thoughts that the ambitions of the greedy turn away from them? Have they found in themselves hearts mixed with the spirit of national life, so that they prefer the interest of the country over every other interest, and seek it even if it goes beyond the circle of worldly life, even if their heirs perish in its path, of a similar kind—as was the case in many nations?

Yes, perhaps among them are individuals who parade themselves with the phrases of freedom, patriotism, nationalism, and the like, and formulate them in broken, useless expressions whose goal and beginning are unknown. They are designated as "leaders of freedom" or "masters of the people," but they stop at this. And there are others who set to work with what they have learned, overturning the arrangements of buildings and dwellings, changing the forms of food, clothing, bedding, utensils, and all implements. They compete in applying them in the most excellent forms known in foreign kingdoms, counting them among their glories, and showing them off as a cause for boasting. By this, they squandered their wealth to foreign lands, and replaced it with outward ornaments whose appearance is pleasing but whose effect is not commendable. They thus destroyed the artisans of their own people and killed the workers of their trades, because their factories did not convert to the new style, their hands were not accustomed to the new making, and their wealth could not afford to import the new machines from distant lands. This

is a mutilation of the nation's nose, disfiguring its face and degrading its station. All this was only because those sciences were placed among them on a false foundation and came to them before their proper time.

Experiments have taught us, and the course of events has spoken, that the imitators of every nation, who adopt the manners of others, become breaches and windows through which enemies approach them. Their minds are landing places for whisperings and warehouses for intrigues. What they have gained from venerating those they imitate and despising those who are not like them is harmful to the sons of their nation, misleading them, distracting them, and belittling all their works, however great. If any remnant of noble ambition or aspiration to high ideals remains in some of the nation's men, they turn against him and force him into humiliation until the trace of magnanimity is erased and the heat of zeal is extinguished. Those imitators become the vanguard of the invading armies and the masters of raids, paving the way for them and opening doors, then establishing their feet and consolidating their authority. This is because they recognize no virtue in anyone else, nor do they think any force can overcome their own.

I say this without fear of reproach—if there had been a small number of those vanguards in the Afghan lands when the English overran some of its territories, they would never have left them for all eternity. For the result of knowledge among these people is nothing but

facilitating paths and relying on the strength of their imitators, and welcoming the horizons of their arts, so that they exaggerate in reassuring souls and calming hearts, until they remove the wariness that might preserve the people's rights and secure their independence. For this reason, when foreigners approach the land of a nation, they see these educated ones among them welcoming them, offering themselves for their service, rejoicing at their arrival, and considering it an honour and a fortune, as if they were saviours sent from heaven. They thus bless the foreign invasion and deem it blessed for themselves and their progeny.

So what is the plan, and what is the means? Is there any medicine more effective for treating the nation's ills than striving to revive its strength, and returning it to its early principles and its origins? But the new sciences, due to their misuse, we have seen their effects. Time is short, and the crisis is severe... What loud voice can wake the slumberers on the couches of heedlessness? What wind can stir the stagnant principles and move the dormant thoughts? What breath can revive these souls in their inactivity, and move them to the positions of their former glory? Easterners and Westerners, Southerners and Northerners—heads bowed to what is under their feet, or lowered to what is above the skies; their eyes have no movement forward, backward, right, or left; their ears have no hearing; their wills have no desires; whims rule, and whisperings have dominion.

What will the Easterners do for themselves, while time is short? What will they attempt, when errors surround them? By what means can they succeed, when the messengers of death are at their doors? I will not prolong this with excessive explanation, nor take you into long fields of questioning. But I will direct you with a brief word to the path of safety and the method of success. Send your thought to the origin of the nation that rose after its fall, and grew weak after its strength, and was impoverished after its wealth, and follow with me the stages of its existence, so that you may see the paths of its virtue and the germs of its ills. You will then know what it was that united its word, raised the ambitions of its individuals, and bonded what was between its members. It elevated it to a station from which it looked down upon the heads of nations and ruled over them, while it was, in its high station, the possessor of its own wisdom. It was nothing other than religion—a strong tie, a comprehensive bond, a cause of unity, a caller to love, a unifier of souls, a purifier of hearts from the filth of vices, an illuminator of minds with the light of God. It clarifies for man what is hidden from him in the depths of human societies, preserves their existence, and calls its adherents to all branches of civilisation.

If this was its law, and from it it originated, and from it it sprang, then the apparent disruption of its order and its decline from its station must be due to the discarding of those principles and the casting of them behind their backs, and the emergence of innovations that deviated from them—innovations that changed the early principles and replaced the fundamental foundations, until nothing remained of them

but names to be mentioned and phrases to be read. These novelties became a veil between the nation and the truth, which it sometimes feels throbbing in its very being. Its effective cure is only to return to the principles of its religion and to act according to its rulings as they were in its early days, to guide the common people with its teachings that are sufficient to purify hearts and discipline morals, to ignite the fire of zeal, to maintain the pillars of virtue, and to preserve the ties of honour and the high duties. The authorities need only to revive the faith in souls, for they are ready for it, with a long history of success, and hearts that are patient and devout, and in their depths is a hidden light of love for it. The one who revives the nation needs only one breath that will flow through all souls in the shortest time. When they have recovered, and are aroused from their slumber, and take a single look at the paths of the enemy and the dangers surrounding them, they will not be incapable, after that, of reaching the furthest limits of human perfection through their own efforts.

Whoever seeks to reform a nation—whose condition is as we have described—by any other means, has indeed embarked on a perilous course, and made the end a beginning, and the education is reversed, and the order of existence is violated, and the intention is reversed, and it only increases the nation in misery and distress. Can you contemplate what I have said? This is the conclusive truth, the established proof, which has been tried and tested in the history of nations. It calls for the strength of unity and the cohesion of the community, and the preference of honour over the pleasures of life. It urges the acquisition of virtues, the expansion of knowledge, and leads

to the furthest goal in civilisation. If you are amazed, then my amazement at your amazement is greater! Have you forgotten the history of the Arab nation, and what it was like before the mission of the religion—of barbarism, dispersion, and the commission of base and vile acts? When religion came to it, it united it, strengthened it, disciplined it, enlightened its minds, straightened its morals, and directed its rulings. It then ruled the world and governed those under its care with justice and fairness. After their minds had been heedless of the requirements of civilisation, their law and the verses of their religion awakened them to seek diverse arts and to delve into them. They brought to their lands the medicine of Hippocrates and Galen, the geometry of Euclid, the astronomy of Ptolemy, and the wisdom of Plato and Aristotle. They were not opposed to all this, and every nation that achieved great things was guided to its perfection and civilisation by the principles of its religion.

It may be that the origin of a nation is based on the call of kingship, the conquest of regions, and the seeking of sovereignty over cities. That call, due to what it requires of high ambitions, elevated goals, and lofty aims, is what disciplines their morals, straightens their thoughts, and spares them from indulging in vices, mean and base affairs. Then, after a long period since its origin, it may be afflicted with decline. But the remedy for this decline is what we have mentioned, and its cure is what we have clarified. If God wills, we will elaborate on the details in another place, and He is the Grantor of success.

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Chapter Three: Christianity and Islam, and Their Followers

"Indeed, in that is a reminder for whoever has a heart or gives ear while he is a witness." (Qur'an 50:37)

God created man as a manufactured being, made easy for him the path of work for himself, guided him to invention and innovation, and decreed for him his sustenance from the work of his own hands. He even made him the pillar of his own existence and the support of his own life. All his states—hardship and ease, roughness and comfort, Bedouinism and civilization—are the products of his own actions. His provisions come from cultivating the earth or tending livestock; his garments and what protects him from heat, cold, and injury are the work of his own hands in weaving or stitching; his shelters and dwellings are nothing but manifestations of his estimation and thought. All the things he takes delight in, from the pleasures of luxury and bliss, are merely forms of his own work and fields of his own ideas.

If he were to shake his hands from working for himself for an hour of time, and spread his palm to nature, begging it for a breath of life, nature would tighten upon him, indeed, it would cast him into the abyss of non-existence. In his creation and innovation, he is in need of a teacher to instruct him and a guide to direct him. Just as he works to secure the necessities of his livelihood and the needs of his life, so too does he work to learn how to work, and to be able to continue working. Thus, his craftsmanship is also from his own making. In all his vital affairs, he is a manufacturing artisan, as if he were separate from nature, remote from its direct effects, his need for it like the worker's need for a tool.

This is the human being in his eating, drinking, clothing, and dwelling. Leave him in this state and look at him from another perspective—look at his intellect, will, morals, faculties, and spiritual emotions; you will find him there as well a manufactured being. His courage and cowardice, his patience and impatience, his generosity and miserliness, his magnanimity and baseness, his harshness and gentleness, his chastity and lust, and all similar perfections and defects—all of them are dependent on what he encounters in his early upbringing, and what is instilled in his soul from the states of those among whom he grew up and was raised; the targets of his thoughts, the paths of his reasoning, the inclinations of his desires, and the ambitions of his wants; his striving for divine secrets or his reliance on research into natural properties; his care to discover truth in everything, or his stopping at the first superficial opinion. All that is

connected to intellectual movements are but deposits stored in him by fathers, mothers, peoples, tribes, and leaders. As for his time of birth, his upbringing, his temperament, the shape of his brain, the composition of his body, and all other natural coverings, they have no effect on psychological dispositions and spiritual qualities except in terms of preparation and receptivity. And that effect is weak; upbringing, thoughts, and the ideas of educators erase it entirely, as if it had never been ingrained in his nature.

Yes, new ideas are generated, new concepts are born, qualities ascend, and ambitions rise, so that the later ones surpass the earlier ones, and one might think this is due to the action of nature, not to the effects of acquisition. But the truth is that it is the fruit of what was planted and the result of what was earned—it is a product following a product. So man in his intellect and the qualities of his spirit is a manufactured being. This is something that both the wise and the simple do not doubt.

But have you considered, with this, that physical actions arise from faculties and spiritual resolves, and that the spirit is the conquering authority over the body? I think there is no room for doubt in this either. And it is not hidden from the astute that, before entering our subject, I must say a word of truth about religion, and I do not think any remembrancer would deny it: Religion is a divine institution. Its teacher and caller to it is human. Minds receive it from the bearers of glad tidings and warners. It is acquired, as if God had not

distinguished them with revelation, and it is transmitted from them through proclamation, study, education, and instruction. Given this, it is clear how the soul is colored by religious principles and its beliefs, and how bodies are trained on what arises from them—great and small of actions. Since the first dominance is over thoughts, and the facilitating forces of resolves and wills are under its command, the human soul, at its origin, is like a polished tablet. The first thing inscribed upon it is the sketch of religion, and then it proceeds to all other actions by its call and guidance.

If we look at the two religions we are discussing, Christianity and Islam, we find a very long discussion. Here we will give a concise account that will suffice for the discerning. Christianity was built upon peaceableness and gentleness in everything. It came to abolish retribution, to discard kingship and authority, to renounce this world and its vanities, and it preached the necessity of submission to every authority ruling over its followers, leaving the wealth of rulers to rulers, and keeping away from personal, racial, and even religious conflicts. One of the Gospel's commandments is: "Whoever strikes you on your right cheek, turn to him the other also." And its teachings state that kings have authority only over bodies, which are perishable; the true, lasting authority over souls belongs to God alone.

If this is the case, it is astonishing—indeed, it baffles the mind—to observe the states of those who follow this pacifist religion. For they are the very people who compete in boasting and vainglory for the

adornments of this life and its luxuries. They do not stop at acquiring wealth and pleasures; rather, they go to the extremes of greed and contention over vast lands. Every day, they invent new arts of war, excel in inventing deadly war machines, use them against one another, and pounce upon others with them. They spare no effort in organizing armies and devising their strategies on battlefields; they have reached such mastery that military science has become one of the broadest and most complex of all arts—all while the very principles of their religion divert their minds from the care of preserving their own possessions, let alone striving for the possessions of others.

As for the Islamic religion, its foundation was laid upon seeking dominance, military conquest, might, and sovereignty, and upon rejecting any law contrary to its Sharia, and rejecting any authority unless its holder is responsible for implementing its rulings. Whoever looks at the principles of this religion, and reads a single chapter of its revealed Book, will inevitably judge—without any doubt—that its adherents must be the most warlike nation in the world. They should be the first among all nations to invent deadly weapons, to master military sciences, and to delve into the necessary arts such as physics, chemistry, mechanics, geometry, and others. Whoever reflects on the verse: “And prepare against them whatever you are able of power” (Qur’an 8:60) is certain that one steeped in this faith has been steeped in the love of victory, the seeking of every means to make it easy, and the striving towards it to the extent of human capacity, let alone the preservation of might and the prevention of others from overpowering them. Whoever notes that Islamic law prohibited gambling except in

competitions of racing and archery will understand the Lawgiver's intense desire for the knowledge of military arts and their practice.

But despite all this, one is seized by astonishment at the state of those who cling to this religion in these times. We see them negligent of power, indifferent to seeking its requirements, with no care for excelling in the arts of war or inventing its machinery. So much so that they have been surpassed by nations who are their opposites in what was their primary obligation; they have been forced to imitate them in what they need of those arts and machines. Many of them have fallen under the authority of their adversaries and have submitted to their rule.

Whoever compares the two religions will be perplexed in thought: How was the cannon, the Gatling gun, and other such weapons invented by the followers of the first religion before the second? How was the Martini-Henry rifle found in the lands of the former before it existed among the latter? How were fortresses fortified, warships armoured, and sea passages controlled by the hands of the people of peace and pacifism, rather than the people of dominance and war? Why would not the wise man be perplexed, even if he is a physician of nature? Why would not the expert be baffled in discerning the truth? Were the past centuries and eras not sufficient for the two religions to become deeply rooted in the souls of those clinging to their bonds? Did each community completely discard the doctrines of its own religion over distant ages? Did the Christians restrict themselves, in

their religion, to the Mosaic law and the path of Joshua son of Nun? Did some verses of the Gospel somehow become intermixed—whether one realizes it or not—amidst the sermons and exhortations recited on their pulpits, or the prayers and liturgies performed in their places of worship, and the teachings taught in their catechisms? Did the essence of human nature change with the change of religion? Did bodies in both cases dominate over spirits? Or did spirits find a way to control other than thought and imagination? Did thoughts abandon the path dictated by religion, especially as beliefs differ and their sources differ? Does the effect of causes cease to follow its effects? Are the relationships between causes and their effects severed? What can possibly guide minds to uncover these veils and solve these enigmas?

If this is attributed to differences in race, many of the followers of both religions share a common origin and are close in their lineages. If it is attributed to differences of land, many of the two peoples are similar in the natures of their countries and neighbours in their locations. Did not the Muslims, in the early vigour of their religion, perform deeds that dazzled the eyes and astounded the minds? Were there not among them—such as the Persians, Arabs, and Turks—those who subdued kingdoms and seated themselves on the thrones of sovereignty? In the Crusades, the Muslims had fiery devices resembling cannons, which terrified the Christians, who were unaware of their nature. Malcom, the English historian, mentions in his history of Persia that Mahmud al-Ghaznavi fought the Hindu polytheists with

cannons, which were the cause of their defeat before him in the year 400 AH, while the Christians of that time knew nothing of them.

Why did the Muslims, then, neglect what was one of the foremost obligations of their religion? It is a place of perplexity and an object of wonder! But one must think that there is a cause for this disparity. Yes, and its details are long, but we will summarize it.

The Christian religion spread its shadow and encompassed the Roman nations—those who already possessed a foundation of sciences, literatures, faculties, customs, and laws inherited from their earlier religions. Christianity came to them in harmony with their existing customs and the doctrines of their minds; it entered them through persuasive means and the subtle infiltration of thoughts, not through the hammer of might and force. It was like a decorative pattern on their existing garments; it did not strip them of what they had inherited from their ancestors. Even so, the Gospels calling for peace and pacifism were not, for a long time, in the hands of the common people; rather, they were guarded by the Roman priests. Then, when the Roman religious leaders established themselves in a position of law-making, and legislated for war for the Cross, calling to it as a religious duty, the love of war merged with the religious doctrines. This became the source from which they derived their principles. Afterwards, the Christian doctrines in Europe became shaken, and they split into sects, each challenging the authority of the religion. The spark of what their ancestors had deposited in the very core of their

being returned to a blaze, and they expanded in many arts, with a wide field for thought. Their prowess in military arts and the invention of weapons of war and defence became equal to their prowess in other arts.

As for the Muslims, after they achieved what they achieved in the early days of their religion, and took from every military perfection a share, and from every weapon of war and combat a portion—indeed, they even surpassed all others in the arts of combat—there appeared among them people in the garb of religion who innovated within it, mixing with its principles what was not from it. Thus, rules of fatalism (jabr) spread among them and were struck into their minds until they pierced them, mixed with the fundamentals, and overpowered their strength. This was the origin of the stagnation and decline that befell them in the third and fourth centuries (AH). This, along with what the Sophists—who denied the reality of existence and considered it mere illusions appearing to sight, not proven by facts—introduced, and what the fabricators of hadith invented, attributing to the Prophet statements containing the fatal poison that kills the spirit of zeal. The efforts of the true scholars to clarify the truth and falsehood of all that did not entirely remove its effect, especially after a deficiency in education occurred, and a shortcoming in guiding the common people to the true principles of their religion and its established foundations, which the Prophet and his companions called to. The study of religion, on its correct path, became restricted to specific circles and among a weak class. This, perhaps, is the cause of their stagnation, indeed, the

very reason for their regression—and we today are suffering its consequences and we ask God for safety.

Nevertheless, these afflictions that have covered the religion and diverted the hearts of Muslims from observing it—even if its veil is thick—yet between them and the sound beliefs, which they have not entirely lost, there is a constant interaction and a struggle that never ceases. The contest between truth and falsehood is like the struggle between illness and the strength of constitution. Since the true religion is the first colour with which God has coloured their souls, and the gleam of its lightning still flashes in their hearts from behind those passing clouds, surely a day will come when its light will shine forth and the clouds of ignorance will be dispelled. As long as the Qur'an is recited among them—their revealed Book, their true Imam, which stands over them commanding them to protect their territory, defend their sovereignty, fight against aggressors, and seek strength from every path, without limiting its direction or specifying its way... we do not doubt that they will return to their early state. They will rise up and recover what time has taken from them, and they will surpass all others in the arts of combat, struggle, and warfare, preserving their rights, defending themselves against humiliation, and protecting their religion from loss. And to God all matters return.

Chapter Four: The Decline of the Muslims, Their Inertia, and the Cause Thereof

"Hold fast to God's rope all together; do not split into factions."
(Qur'an 3:103)

The Muslims possess a fervour in their religion, a strength in their faith, and a firmness in their certainty, by which they boast over all other creeds. In their belief lies the strongest of bonds for connecting one to another. It is deeply ingrained in their souls that faith in God and in what their Prophet brought is the complete guarantor of happiness in both abodes, and that whoever is denied faith is denied both happinesses. They are more distressed by one of them slipping from his religion than they are distressed by death and annihilation. This state—as it is among their scholars—is deeply rooted among their common people. So much so that if any person, in any part of the earth, learned or ignorant, who bears the mark of Islam, in any region and of any race, were to apostatize from his religion, you would see the one who receives this news burning with anguish and regret, uttering invocations of distress (hawqalah and istirja') and counting this calamity as one of the greatest disasters that could befall the one afflicted, indeed, all who share his religion. If such an incident were

mentioned in history and a Muslim reader were to read it even two hundred years later, he would not be able to control the agitation of his heart and the boiling of his blood. Anger would drive him to fury and compel him to relate what he saw, as if he were narrating something strange or speaking of something wondrous.

Muslims, by virtue of their Sharia and its explicit rulings, are all required to preserve what falls within their sovereignty of lands. Every one of them is commanded to do so, with no distinction between the near and the far, nor between those united in race and those differing in it. It is an individual obligation (farḍ 'ayn) upon every one of them; if a group fails to protect their territory, the sin falls upon all of them. Among their duties, in the path of protection and preservation of sovereignty, is the expenditure of wealth and lives, the undertaking of every hardship, and the braving of every peril. They are not permitted to make peace with those who overpower them in any situation until they regain sovereignty, humbled before them alone. The Sharia even went so far in demanding from them sovereignty over those who oppose them to the extent that if a Muslim is unable to escape the authority of another, emigration (hijra) from the land of war becomes obligatory upon him. These are established principles in Islamic law, known to the people of truth, and not altered by the interpretations of the people of desires and whims in any age.

Every Muslim is urged by a caller within his own being, reminding him of what the Sharia demands of him and what faith imposes upon

him—a caller of truth, which remains from the inspirations of his religion.

Yet with all this, we see the followers of this religion in these days, some of them heedless of what befalls others. They do not feel the pain that others feel. The people of Baluchistan saw the movements of the English in Afghanistan within sight, yet no zeal stirred in them, nor did they have any anger for their brothers. The Afghans witnessed the English intervention in Persia without being vexed or disquieted. The English troops marched through the Egyptian lands, killing and ravaging, yet no support was seen in the souls of their brothers, who overlooked the course of their blood, whose eyes reddened at the sights before them, under their feet, and around them.

The state of the Muslims—their deep faith and their strong sense of the call of truth in their souls, combined with this condition they are in—is a matter that compels wonder and invites bewilderment. The explanation of its cause is as follows:

Intellectual ideas, religious doctrines, types of knowledge and perceptions, and psychological feelings—though they are the motive for actions, and by their decree actions are issued by the will of the Almighty, the All-Knowing—yet actions nurture, strengthen, and imprint these ideas upon the soul, until they become what we call

faculty and character. The effects that are appropriate to them then follow.

Certainly, man is human only through his thought and his beliefs, but what is reflected in the mirror of his mind from the visions of his sight and the perceptions of his senses affects him profoundly. Every observation generates a thought, every thought has an effect on an impulse, and from every impulse an action arises. Then, from action, it returns to thought, and the action and interaction between actions and thoughts never cease as long as souls are in bodies. Each is the pillar of the other.

Kinship and all bonds of lineage have a form in the mind, but they have no effect on solidarity and cohesion were it not for the necessities that compel and the needs that urge—cooperation among relatives and the clan to obtain benefits, and their mutual defence against harms. After the passage of days on this mutual support and assistance, the soul becomes accustomed to it, until it becomes firmly entrenched in its depths. The remaining traces of this cause the soul to lean towards the relative, and the heart to be pained by the injustice or calamity that befalls him, flowing in the course of natural instincts—like the feeling of hunger, thirst, satiety, and fullness. Indeed, it became so confused to some observers that they deemed it natural.

If the tie of kinship were neglected after its establishment and knowledge of it, or if during times of conflict, circumstances arose that strengthened and confirmed that tie, or if a relative found support from someone outside his bloodline, or a pressing necessity compelled him to that, the effect of that rooted emotional bond would disappear, and nothing of it would remain except a form in the mind, flowing like memorized narratives and transmitted reports.

On the same model as what we have mentioned regarding the bond of kinship—which is the strongest bond among humans—is the case with all other beliefs that affect human society in terms of connecting some to others, if the intellectual conviction is not accompanied by the compulsion of necessity or the power of a motive to an action upon which the limb is formed and trained, and whose repeated effect returns to the thought until it becomes a state of the soul and a form of its being, then it will not become a source of its effects. It will merely be counted among the scientific forms, a sketch that appears in the memory when one turns attention to it—as we have already presented.

This is the exact explanation for the state to which Muslims have come, despite their fervour in religion and their being the firmest of people in their beliefs. Nothing remains of the bond among Muslims—in most cases—except the religious creed, stripped of the actions that follow it. Mutual acquaintance between them has been severed; they have abandoned one another and become strangers to each other. The scholars—who are the guardians of the faith and the

guides of the people to it—have no communication or correspondence between them. The Turkish scholar is ignorant of the condition of the Hejazi scholar, let alone those far away; the Indian scholar is heedless of the affairs of the Afghan scholar, and so on. Rather, the scholars of a single country have no connection or bond that unites them, except what exists among individuals of the common people due to specific reasons, such as friendship or kinship between one and another. As for their collective body, they have no unity; indeed, they have no ties between them. Each looks to himself and does not go beyond, as if he were a universe unto himself.

As this coldness and abandonment existed among the scholars, so too it existed among the kings and sultans of the Muslims. Is it not astonishing that there is no Ottoman embassy in Morocco, nor a Moroccan embassy with the Ottomans? Is it not strange that there is no Ottoman embassy, nor official representation, in Afghanistan and other Muslim communities in the East?

This disarray, this cutting of ties, and this casting of ropes upon the shoulders—these are the state of the Muslims, until it has become accurate to say: There is no relationship between one of their communities and another, nor between one country and another, except a faint feeling that some people are of their religion and believe in their faith—and perhaps they learn of this by coincidence—but it is so weak that it does not prompt them to rise up in mutual support.

The nation was like a great body, strong of frame, sound of constitution. Then, afflictions descended upon it that weakened the cohesion between its parts, so it began to disintegrate and dissolve. Each part nearly became separate, and the body's form nearly vanished. This decline and weakness in the bonds of the Islamic nation began when the rank of learning was separated from the rank of the Caliphate. This was at the time when the Abbasid Caliphs contented themselves with the title of Caliphate without the honour of knowledge and deep understanding in religion and independent reasoning (ijtihad) in its principles—a phenomenon unprecedented in any other religion. Then, the unity of the Caliphate was breached and split into divisions: an Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad, a Fatimid one in Egypt and the Maghreb, and an Umayyad one in the far reaches of Andalusia. By this, the word of the nation was divided, its stick was broken, and the status of the Caliphate was reduced to the rank of a worldly kingship, stripped of its spiritual influence over souls. The seekers of kingship and authority then strove for it through means of force and might, paying no heed to the Caliphate.

The division increased in severity, and the ties between them were severed with the emergence of Genghis Khan and his sons, and Timur Lenk and his descendants, who brought slaughter and humiliation upon the Muslims, bewildering them about themselves. Thus, the community was completely fragmented, and the bonds between kings and scholars were utterly broken. Each became preoccupied with his own affairs, or turned to what was nearest to him. So the Caliphate

was reduced to a mere name, and the nation was scattered into sects, each group following either a monarch or a sectarian doctrine. Thus, the effects of the doctrines that called for unity and prompted the interweaving of bonds were weakened. What remained in their minds of them were merely mental images stored in the warehouses of imagination, and recalled by memory when prompted by the contents of the treasuries of knowledge. Nothing remained of their effects except grief and regret that seized their hearts when calamities befell some Muslims—after the decree had passed and the news had reached their ears after a long time. It is merely a type of sorrow for what is lost, as one feels for deceased relatives, which does not call for action to remedy the calamity or repel the disaster.

It was incumbent upon the scholars, fulfilling the right of inheritance with which they were honoured by the tongue of the Lawgiver, to rise up and revive the religious bond, to remedy the discord that had occurred in the kingship by establishing the unity to which religion calls, and to make their mosques and schools the hubs of this unity. Every mosque and every school should be a place for the spirit of unity to descend, and each scholar should be like a link in a single chain—if one end trembles, the other trembles in response. The scholars, preachers, imams, and orators throughout the earth should be connected to one another, establishing centres in different regions to which they refer in matters of their unity. They should take the hands of the common people to where the Revelation and sound tradition guide them. They should gather the scattered bonds to a single centre, to be located in the holiest of lands—the House of God, the Sacred

Sanctuary. By this, they would strengthen the pillars of religion, preserve it from the blows of aggression, and fulfil the needs of the nation when disruptive events occur or foreigners intervene in ways that degrade it. This would also be more conducive to the spread of knowledge, the illumination of minds, and the protection of religion from innovations. For the tightening of bonds is achieved by determining scholarly ranks and defining functions. If an innovator invents something, the communication between the classes would enable the rectification of his innovation and its eradication before it spreads among the common people. It is not hidden from the discerning what follows from this: the strength of the nation, the unity of its word, and its ability to repel the disasters that befall it.

Yet we are deeply grieved that the thoughts of the scholars and the wise among the Muslims are not directed towards this means—the nearest of means. And if a group of the zealous has turned their attention to it in these days, our hope is that the rulers and scholars of the Muslims, among the people of zeal and truth, will support this idea and not hesitate in what unites them and gathers their scattered community. For experience has taught them with a lesson beyond which there is nothing more. And they are urged by the obligation that every believer has towards his brother, especially those who are close to him. They should acquaint themselves with each other's affairs regarding what benefits their religion and nation, or what they fear may harm them. By this great work, they would have performed a duty and sought happiness—life remains and hopes are near. And to God is the final return.

Chapter Five: Policies of Those Who Have a Right ... and the Stirring of Those Who Have No Right

All the states of Europe, and France in particular, are intently watching what has befallen their interests, what has been lost of their rights in the Egyptian territory, and what has harmed their trade there. Yet they do not move, nor is any voice heard from them, except a faint whisper in the newspapers. The Ottoman Empire[32]—which is of great strength and powerful arm, holding a place in the hearts of the Indians such that every Englishman's heart is between the fingers of the Ottoman state, and their innermost being is settled upon its fingertips—sees its sovereignty in the Egyptian territories approaching extinction, and its authority over them has nearly become a mere name. Yet it takes no action, nor does it take a single step. It merely contents itself with establishing arguments and raising its voice in appeals to the powers, until its crying has exhausted it. There is none to hear, and none to answer.

Those who hold rights of authority in Egypt and who hold the reins of government there, despite their differing backgrounds, have had their hands bound with ropes of hope and chains of fear. They find no stability in thought, no firmness in opinion. They are tossed between a whirlwind of delusions and currents of the fancies of imagination, staring at the sites of events, bewildered, with their eyes wide open and eyelids unclosed. The common people of the Egyptian territories are caught between a poverty that nearly turns into famine, a chaos in the system, a weakness in authority, and a confusion in judgments that nearly leads to despair of reform. They have been seized by vertigo, glancing at their rulers for a while, hoping in their ambitions and sound management. The last thing the British government promised them was evacuation from their homelands and leaving them to manage their own affairs. Yet the die is cast upon the British nation in their lands, without assigning to them any share, as if they were strangers to them, not caring about them, nor paying heed to their condition.

There is a dispute among British politicians: some push the government to seize Egypt, declare sovereignty over it, and take the reins of its rule. Others say: this contradicts the spirit of the age and is not permitted by the law of fidelity; rather, we must occupy it with our troops for a time sufficient to achieve what we want, then evacuate it if there is no cause to remain. Different phrases, but similar meanings—they dispute while agreeing, and differ while united. They go in different paths in inventing excuses for what they seek. Some newspapers, like The Times and its ilk, use the excuse of General

Gordon, trivializing what has happened to him, and urging the British government to rescue him from danger. They claim there is no way to save him except by declaring British sovereignty over Egypt. For this declaration has a moral force that defends the General, which not even a massive army could provide. Sending armies is impossible due to the ruggedness of the roads, the great expense, and the intense heat. If the government attempts it, it will only be an act of despair and desperation. These newspapers have made these international interests, the rights of the Ottoman Empire, and the rights of six million inhabitants of Egypt a sacrifice for the head of General Gordon. In their claim, what they express is not merely the opinion of newspaper editors, but the opinion of the entire British nation—and perhaps that is not far from the truth.

Other newspapers, with The Times joining them, use the pretext of the anxiety of the Egyptian bondholders over their debts, claiming they have no guarantee to relieve their anxiety and settle their unrest except by declaring sovereignty over Egypt. Still others use as their argument the calamities of the Egyptian people, the disasters that have befallen their country, and the occupation, claiming that nothing can save them from this misery except British sovereignty. All of them agree that this sovereignty is the precious essence, the hidden secret, the elixir kept from the unworthy—once revealed, no sick person would remain uncured, no weak person would remain weak, and no corrupt person would remain unreformed. As if this name has the power of spells and talismans, sufficing instead of armies, wealth, equipment, and men.

We do not think that this name has the power the British claim, nor that these wondrous secrets lie within it.

Even if we were to assume that the holders of rights—the European states, the Ottoman Empire, and those of authority—renounced their rights and allowed the British government to inscribe the letters of sovereignty in its official papers or in the air of the land, it would not be easy for it to increase its garrison sufficiently to protect a great kingdom bordering Europe. The effects of their strength during their occupation have already appeared, and what has come back to the country from it. The inhabitants were in complete peace, relying on what the British government promised them of evacuation from their homelands. If sovereignty is declared, the ties of hope will be severed, hearts will turn away, and they will incline towards the call that is near to them. All will turn to defending their national or religious rights, and they will not fear British power within the country after they have seen its true nature. This would be a new argument for Muhammad Ahmad to strengthen his cause among the Egyptians, and the name of sovereignty will not frighten them after the armies of General Hicks and Graham failed to terrify them, and after Graham's defeats and his forced evacuation of the Red Sea coasts. So what significance can this noble name have? Indeed, it will be the beginning of a new and grave problem in Egypt, and God knows its outcome.

Chapter Six: Religious Solidarity (Partisanship)

“Follow what has been sent down to you from your Lord, and do not follow any protectors besides Him.” (Qur’an 7:3)

This word has occupied the minds of people, especially in the Eastern countries. Tongues utter it, and mouths toss it about in gatherings and assemblies. It has become a crutch for speakers; the inarticulate resort to it in their stammering, and the pretentious use it for their grandiloquence. This word has taken hold of expression, so much so that scarcely a phrase is uttered without it being its opening, its core, or its conclusion. They consider its meaning to be the cause of every calamity and the source of every affliction. They claim it is a thick veil and a barrier between those characterized by it and success, and they make it a mark of deficiency and a banner of vices.

Those who clothe themselves in the garments of the Europeans, and who follow their paths of confusion and mixing without distinguishing between truth and falsehood, are the most eager people to prattle on with this new heresy. You see them, when explaining the evils of fanaticism, shaking their heads, playing with their beards, and twisting their mustaches. If they accuse a person of it to degrade his standing, they reinforce it with a European word: "Fanatic." If they find

someone opposing their views, they call him a fanatic, and they taunt him, mock him, and slander him. If they see him frowning, they smile and turn up their noses in arrogance, turning their backs on him and calling out woe and destruction upon him.

What has preceded to their minds from this word, and what has reached their understanding of its meaning, that they consider it the source of every outrage and the origin of every defect? Do they have any knowledge of its true nature?

Fanaticism (al-ta'aṣṣub) is the manifestation of communal solidarity (al-'aṣabiyya[1]). Partisanship is a relational noun, derived from "the group" (al-'uṣba), which is a man's people who strengthen his power and defend him against injustice and enmity. So fanaticism is a quality of the human soul, from which arises a movement to protect those connected to it and to defend their rights. The aspects of connection are subject to the judgments of the mind in its perceptions and knowledge. This quality is what God has shaped nations with, and upon which the structure of communities is built. It is the knot of the bond in every nation; indeed, it is the sound temperament that unites the scattered parts under a single name, or creates them, by God's decree, as a single entity, like a body formed from parts and elements, directed by one spirit, so that it becomes like a person distinct in its stages, affairs, happiness, and misery from other persons.

This unity is the source of the competition between one nation and another, and between one tribe and another, and the boasting of each of the two opposing nations about what it possesses of the means of comfort and the ease of life, and what its powers gather of the means of victory and dominance. The competition and emulation between nations is like the competition between individuals—it is the greatest impetus for reaching the highest degrees of perfection in all the necessities of life, to the extent that capacity allows.

Fanaticism is a comprehensive soul whose dwelling is the body of the nation, and the souls of individuals are its senses and feelings. If something alien, unsuitable to one of its senses, afflicts it, the universal soul is affected, and its nature stirs to repel it. Thus, it is the source of general zeal and the igniter of racial fervour. This is what elevates the souls of the nation's individuals above base acts and the commission of betrayals that would harm the nation or lead to a bad end. The uprightness of temperaments and the firmness of virtue in a nation are proportional to the degree of fanaticism and cohesion among its individuals. Each is like a sound limb of a living body—the head does not find itself in need of the foot, nor do the feet see their extremity as a degradation in the rank of existence; rather, each performs its functions to preserve the body and ensure its survival.

Whenever the strength of the bond between the individuals of a nation weakens, due to the weakening of fanaticism among them, the nerves relax, the joints slacken, and the building of the nation begins to

collapse, just as a bodily building collapses into decay. After that, the universal soul dies, and the entity of the nation is nullified, even if its individuals remain. They are merely scattered parts—either they attach to other bodies, by the law of cosmic necessity, or they remain in the grip of death until a new spirit of existence is breathed into them. Such is the way of God in His creation. When partisanship weakens in a people, the pillars are demolished, and some neglect others. Heedlessness is followed by a severing of bonds, and that is followed by abandonment and aversion. This gives room for foreigners and alien elements to interfere among them. Then they taste the bitterness of subjugation, until God recreates them, just as He originated them, by infusing a new spirit of fanaticism in a new genesis.

Yes, fanaticism is a quality like other qualities. It has a limit of moderation and two extremes of excess and negligence. Its moderation is the perfection whose merits we have explained. Negligence in it is the deficiency whose harms we have pointed out. Excess in it is a blameworthy trait that leads to injustice and aggression. The one who goes to excess in his fanaticism defends those bonded to him by right and by wrong, sees his own group as alone deserving of honour, and looks at the outsider as if he were worthless—not recognizing his right, nor respecting his covenant. Thus, he departs from the path of justice, and the benefit of fanaticism turns into harm, which ruins the nation and destroys its glory. For justice is the foundation of human society, and by it nations live. Every power that does not submit to justice is doomed to perish.

This is the secret behind the condemnation of fanaticism in the Prophet's saying: “He is not of us who calls to partisanship.”

Fanaticism, as it is used to mean zeal for one’s race—whose source is the bond of lineage and common origin—has also been extended by common usage to include the solidarity of those bonded by religious ties in supporting one another. The pedantic imitators of the Europeans particularly condemn this type and curse it. We do not consider this doctrine to be rational. For a bond that transforms the scattered into a unified whole, from which springs a power to repel calamities and attain perfections, does not differ in its effect whether its source is lineage or religion. It was by the decree of the Almighty that both bonds exist among different groups of humanity, and from each have come great deeds in the world, which human civilization boasts of. There is no rational difference between defending one's relative and helping him in the necessities of life, and what arises from similar actions among those bonded by creed and shared belief.

If a people adhere to the principles of their religion with moderation, without being driven to injustice or violation of the rights of others, then their fanaticism is among the greatest of human virtues, the most beneficial and profitable—indeed, it is the most sacred and highest bond. If it becomes firmly rooted, it elevates those possessed by it to the summit of glory and the peak of honour. This is especially true for

those in whom the authority of religion is strong and whose passions have been subdued to the point of near-extinction, as is the case with the followers of the Islamic faith—as we have pointed out in the second issue of our newspaper.

Let it not be held against us that we consider it among the most sacred of bonds. For just as it erases the distinctions between numerous individuals and unites them in purposes, resolves, and actions, so too does it erase the effects of enmity and aversion between tribes, clans, and even races of different origins, languages, and customs, and even those far apart in appearance and form. It transforms their conflicting desires into a single purpose: establishing glory, strengthening honour, and immortalising remembrance under the name that unites them. This great effect is characteristic of the strength of religious fanaticism, as history testifies and sound reason confirms. The bond of race could not achieve a fraction of this.

A group of the freethinkers (mutazandiqa) of this age has been busy pointing out the evils of religious fanaticism. They claim that the zeal of the religious people—their mutual support against injustice, and their solidarity in repelling whatever weakens their religion—is what prevents them from progressing towards the perfection of civilization, veils them from the light of knowledge and learning, casts them into the darkness of ignorance, and drives them to injustice, oppression, and aggression against those who differ from them in religion. These freethinkers believe that there is no way to avert these evils and

achieve these interests except by dissolving religious fanaticism, erasing its effects, and liberating minds from the authority of religious doctrines. They often rant against the followers of Islam, delving into attributing the defects of fanaticism to them.

The diviners have lied. For religion is the first teacher, the most guiding leader, and the most generous guide for souls in acquiring sciences and expanding knowledge. It is the most merciful educator and the most insightful trainer in imprinting souls with good morals and noble qualities. It keeps them on the path of justice, and awakens in them the sense of compassion and mercy. It urges them, in its fundamental principles and its various branches, towards the highest degrees of truth and civilization. It is the light of this world and the next.

Religious fanaticism may be subject to excess and extremity, just as racial fanaticism is, leading to injustice and oppression. This may lead the followers of a religion to annihilate their opponents and erase their existence, as the Western nations did in the East for the sake of religion, or as was done to the Muslims of Andalusia. Or as happened before that, at the beginning of the establishment of Christian power, when a Christian ruler gathered the Jews in Jerusalem and burned them. However, these exceptional occurrences, if they were not rare, are nevertheless contrary to the principles of the religion, and any excess is usually curbed by the fundamental spirit of the religion, which calls for tolerance, mercy, and justice. As for the followers of

Islam, some sects have gone to excess in their fanaticism in past ages, but it never reached the point of aiming for the annihilation and complete destruction of their opponents. This is proven in the history of the Muslims after they surpassed the borders of the Arabian Peninsula. The clearest proof is the continued existence of various creeds in their lands to this day, preserving their beliefs and customs since the time they were subdued, even during the peak of Muslim power when their opponents were at their weakest.

Yes, the Muslims were keen on expanding their kingdoms and extending their conquests, and they were harsh on those who opposed their rule. Yet, with that, they preserved the sanctity of other religions, respected the rights of the dhimmis (protected people), and acknowledged the rights of those who submitted to them from other creeds. They defended them against the aggression of others. Among the firmly rooted principles in their souls is: “Whoever is satisfied with our protection, for him is what we have, and upon him is what is upon us.” They did not deviate from the command of God in their dealings with others: “O you who have believed, be persistently standing firm in justice, witnesses for Allah, even if it be against yourselves or parents and relatives.” (Qur'an 4:135) Except for what human nature is rarely free from. From the origin of Islam to today, they have never prevented any of their opponents from rising to the rank they deserve. Indeed, in Muslim states—despite their differences—those of other faiths rose to the highest positions, such as the office of vizier, minister, and scribe. They did not demean their status despite their low numbers. It is doubtful that Western nations

have reached this degree of justice to this day. So let the people who think that Muslims, by their fanaticism, prevent their opponents from their rights be confounded.

The Muslims never took the path of compelling people to their religion or forcing its acceptance, even at the height of their might in the early days of their states, and even amidst their intense conquests and high ambitions for dominion and authority. They merely had a call which they would deliver; if it was accepted, all was well; if not, they would replace it with a financial tax (jizya[111]) that fulfilled the purpose of tribute among other nations, with fair conditions known from Islamic jurisprudence. This is in contrast to the Christianizers of the Romans and Greeks in their early power, who would not conquer a land without compelling its people to abandon their religions and adopt the conquerors' faith—as they did in Egypt, Syria, and even in the European lands themselves.

This is a part of the discussion to which the exposition has led us, and in it is an insight for the discerning and a reminder for the mindful. I now return you to the previous thread of our discussion: Does any sane person, who has not been afflicted with a defect in his mind, consider moderation in religious fanaticism a vice? Is there any difference between it and racial fanaticism except that religious fanaticism is more sacred, purer, and more universally beneficial? We do not think any sane person doubts the correctness of what we have established. So why do these people utter nonsense they do not

understand? What rational principle do they rely on in boasting and taking pride in racial fanaticism alone, considering it a virtue of the most honourable virtues, while they disdain the moderate religious fanaticism, regarding it as a vice to be shunned?

But we know that this doctrine which they propagate has a specific purpose and a secret meaning. The Europeans have realized that the strength of the Muslims does not lie in racial ties, but in this religious solidarity. Since the Europeans have ambitions in the lands of the Muslims and their homelands, they have directed their attention to spreading these fallacious ideas among the followers of Islam, adorning for them the abandonment of this sacred bond and the breaking of its ties. This is so they may demolish the structure of the Islamic nation and tear it into sects and parties. For they know—as we know, and as all the wise know—that Muslims recognize no nationality except their religion and their belief. The corruptors have had some success in some Islamic regions, and some heedless Muslims, through ignorance and imitation, followed them in causing aversion to religious fanaticism, after they had lost it and had not replaced it with the bond of race, which they exaggerate in revering and respecting out of foolishness and folly. They are like one who demolishes his house before securing materials to build a new one, then curses the nights for his misfortune.

Look at what the English did in India when they entered it. They subjugated the Indians and exploited the weaknesses of Muslim ideas,

which were still fresh with them, and in their religion is what urges them to move to recover what has been taken from them. The English realized that the life of the Muslims is based on the religious bond. As long as the Muhammadan belief and the religious solidarity prevail among them, their revival to reclaim their rights is assured. So they enticed a group who bear the mark of Islam and wear the garb of Muslims, but in their hearts is rancour and hypocrisy, and in their souls is deviation and heresy. They are known in the Indian lands as the Dahriyyun[41] (the Materialists/Atheists). The English took them as assistants to corrupt the beliefs of the Muslims and weaken the ties of religious fanaticism, to extinguish the fire of their zeal, quench the spark of their anger, scatter their assembly, and break their unity. They helped this group to establish a large school in Aligarh and to publish a newspaper to spread these falsehoods among the Indians, until weakness in beliefs prevails, the ties between Muslims are severed, and the English feel secure in their domination over them, just as they feel secure over others.

Those deluded heretics are deluded into thinking that the men of the British state show them superficial care, and bring them near to some menial positions. Woe to him who sells his religion for a morsel, and his faith for the most despicable of prices!

This is a method of European politics that the states have mastered, reaping its fruits. They applied it to the Easterners to achieve their ambitions in them. Many of those states have laid traps in the

Ottoman, Egyptian, and other Islamic lands, and have not failed to catch prey from among the princes and those affiliated with the new learning and civilization. They used them as tools to achieve their purposes in their countries. We are not surprised at the materialists and heretics who conceal themselves in the garb of Islam for inclining to these vain desires. But we are astonished that some simple Muslims—while remaining on their beliefs and firm in their faith—pour out words in condemnation of religious fanaticism, and are excessive in accusing the fanatics of being old-fashioned and backward, heedless of the fact that they are breaking their own staff, corrupting their own affairs, and destroying their own houses with their own hands and the hands of the renegades. They seek to erase moderate fanaticism, and in its erasure lies the erasure of the nation itself, and its delivery into the hands of foreigners who will enslave it as long as the earth is earth and the sky is sky.

But our wonder at these and those is not as great as our wonder at the Westerners, the European nations, who exhaust their efforts in spreading these ideas among the Easterners, and are not ashamed to vilify religious fanaticism and to brand the Muslims with "fanaticism," while they are the most fanatical people of this type of fanaticism, and the most zealous in acting upon its motives. It is among the fundamental principles of their political governments to defend the preachers of religion and those who propagate it, and to assist them in their work. If a minor accident, which is inevitable in human society, befalls one of those of their religion and their sect in a region of the East, you hear cries and wails, and waves of clamour rise in the sky of

the Western lands, and all of them cry out: a calamity has occurred, a great event has happened! So gather your forces and prepare to remedy the incident and guard against its like, so that the religious community is not harmed. Yet you see them, despite their differences in races, their mutual hatred, their conflict, and their enmity in politics—each state waiting for the other's stumble to bring it down—they draw near, coalesce, and unite in directing their military and political power to protect those who share their religion, even if they are in the farthest corner of the earth, and even if the ties of racial lineage between them are severed.

If the matter were reversed, and harm befell their religious opponents, no vein would pulse in them, no feeling would be awakened. Rather, they are heedless of them, leaving them to their fate until the flood takes its course. They are oblivious to what is instilled in human nature of compassion and natural mercy. It is as if they consider those outside their religion to be merely grazing animals and stray cattle, not part of the human species which Europeans claim to be the protectors and supporters of. And this is not limited to the religious among them; the materialists and those who do not believe in God, His Books, and His Messengers, race with the religious in their religious fanaticism, sparing no effort in strengthening their partisanship. Would that they stopped at the truth, but they often go beyond it.

Look at the matter of the Europeans in their adherence to religious fanaticism! The highest-ranking man among them, like Gladstone[22],

you will not find a word uttered by him that does not contain a breath of the spirit of Peter the Hermit; indeed, you would not see his spirit except as a copy of that crusader's spirit. Look at Gladstone's previous books and speeches.

O nation, pitied and lamented! This is your life, preserve it. This is your blood, do not shed it. This is your souls, do not extinguish them. This is your happiness, do not sell it for less than the price of death. These are your religious bonds, do not let whisperings deceive you, nor let delusions seduce you. Lift the veil of delusion from what distorts your understanding, and hold fast to the rope of religious solidarity, which is the strongest bond by which the Arab is joined to the Turk, the Persian to the Indian, the Egyptian to the Moroccan. It serves for them the purpose of the bond of race—even if their homelands are distant and their regions are far apart.

This is a tie, of the strongest ties, which God has brought to you. In it lies your might, your strength, your sovereignty, and your dominion. Do not weaken it. But in safeguarding it, you must submit to the authority of justice; for justice is the foundation of the universe, and by it you will live. No nation that despises justice among itself will succeed. You must fear God, adhere to His commands in preserving the blood of innocents, recognizing the rights of their owners, treating well, and perfecting the bonds of unity in national interests between yourselves, your countrymen, and your neighbours of different faiths. Your interests cannot be established except with theirs, just as theirs

cannot be established except with yours. Do not make the religious bond a means of aggression or a pretext for violating rights, for your religion forbids that and threatens you with the severest punishment. Do not let your partisanship be limited to a mere inclination of some of you for others. Rather, use it to compete with other nations in strength, might, sovereignty, and dominion; to compete with them in acquiring beneficial sciences, virtues, and human perfections. Make your partisanship a path to unifying your word, gathering your community, and each of you taking the hand of his brother to raise him from the pit of deficiency to the peak of perfection. Cooperate in righteousness and piety, but do not cooperate in sin and aggression.

Chapter Seven: Divine Decree and Destiny (Al-Qaḍā' wa al-Qadar)

God’s established way (sunnah) in His creation dictates that heartfelt beliefs have authority over bodily actions. Whatever goodness or corruption exists in actions, its source is the soundness or corruption of belief. How many single beliefs take hold of the entirety of thoughts, leading to other beliefs and perceptions that branch out from them, shaping the soul’s state and influencing its tendencies! A principle of knowledge, or a foundation of perfection, when presented

to souls through teaching or religious propagation, may be misunderstood by the hearer, becoming confused with something not of its kind, or it may encounter some base qualities or false beliefs in him and become tainted by what it encounters. In both cases, its form changes and its effect differs. Sometimes, a corrupt, misleading confusion arises from a misunderstanding of the intent, or from a lack of precision, giving rise to unsound actions. This happens without the believer knowing how he came to believe, or how his belief directs him. The deluded by outward appearances thinks these actions arose from the original principle itself.

This is the origin of the deviations that befall the doctrines of the people of truth and their followers. It is often the cause of innovations in every religion. Much of this deviation and the resulting innovations was the source of corrupted morals and vile deeds, eventually leading those afflicted by God to destruction and an evil end. This is what drives some who have no real knowledge to attack a religion or a true doctrine, relying on the actions of some naive followers of that religion or doctrine.

Among these is the doctrine of Divine Decree and Destiny (al-Qaḍā' wa al-Qadar), which is considered a fundamental principle in the true Islamic faith. It has been the subject of much confusion among the heedless Europeans, who have thought ill of it. They claim that whenever it takes root in a people, it strips them of ambition and strength, and instils in them weakness and abasement. They accused

the Muslims of certain traits and conditions, and then attributed their cause to belief in destiny. They said: “The Muslims, due to their belief in destiny, have lost the spirit of initiative and ambition. This is the cause of the corruption of their morals—the increase of lies, hypocrisy, treachery, hatred, and mutual enmity; the disunity of their word, their ignorance of their present and future conditions, their heedlessness of what harms and benefits them. They are content with a life of eating, drinking, and sleeping, and do not compete with others in virtue. But whenever one of them can harm his brother, he does not hesitate to do so. Thus, their strength is turned against themselves, while other nations are behind them, swallowing them up one after another. They are content with every misfortune, ready to accept every event, and have resigned themselves to inertia in the corners of their homes. They roam in their pastures and return to their shelters. Their princes spend their lives in amusement, play, and the indulgence of desires, while they have obligations and duties that would consume their entire lives, yet they do not perform any of them. They spend their wealth extravagantly on their pastimes; their expenses are vast, but nothing enters their account that benefits their nation. They betray and despise each other, linking public interests to their private interests. A conflict between two princes may ruin an entire nation; each betrays the other and brings in his neighbour against him. The foreigner finds in them a fleeting power and a consummate weakness, so he seizes the opportunity to pounce on them and devour them. Fear has encompassed them, and cowardice and faint-heartedness have subdued them. They are terrified of whispers and pained by a touch, trembling from the state of their kingdom and what they possess of it, ignorant of what other nations have been given of glory, might, and power. They have strayed from the proper path of their religion, while

seeing their neighbours—indeed, those under their authority—advance upon them and boast of what they acquire. If a calamity befalls their brothers or they are attacked, they do not strive to alleviate their suffering, nor do they rise to support them. There are no great religious associations among them—neither public nor secret—whose purposes are to revive zeal, awaken fervour, help the weak, and preserve rights from the tyranny of the powerful and the encroachment of foreigners."

Thus, they attributed to the Muslims these traits and conditions, claiming that their only source is their belief in Divine Decree and their relegation of all their important affairs to Divine Power. They judged that if the Muslims continued on this belief, they would never rise again, never regain might, never restore their glory, never secure their rights, never repel aggression, never strengthen a ruler's authority, nor fortify a kingdom. Rather, weakness would continue to work in their souls, corrupting their natures, until it leads them to annihilation and extinction—God forbid. They would destroy each other through private disputes, and whatever escaped the hands of some would be reaped by the foreigners.

These Europeans believed that there is no difference between belief in Divine Decree and Destiny and the doctrine of Compulsion (Jabr), which holds that man is completely compelled in all his actions. They imagined that Muslims, through their belief in destiny, see themselves as a feather hanging in the air, turned by the winds as they will. Once

it is ingrained in a people that they have no choice in word, action, movement, or stillness—and that all of this is by a compelling force and an overpowering power—undoubtedly their faculties would be suspended, they would lose the fruit of the perceptions and powers God has granted them, and the motive for striving and earning would be erased from their thoughts. They would be most deserving of that low station and humiliation.

This is what a group of Europeans thought, and many of the weak-minded in the East followed their doctrine. I am not afraid to say: The thinker has lied, and the delusion has erred. The claimant is false, and they have invented lies against God and the Muslims. There is no Muslim today—Sunni, Shi'a, Zaydi, Ismaili, Wahhabi, or Kharijite—who holds the doctrine of pure compulsion and believes that he is completely stripped of choice. Rather, all of these Muslim sects believe that they have a chosen portion in their actions, called acquisition (al-kasb[6]), which is the basis of reward and punishment for all of them. They are accountable for this chosen portion with which God has endowed them, and they are required to obey all divine commands and prohibitions—which call to every good and guide to every success. This type of choice is the subject of religious obligation (taklīf), and by it, Divine wisdom and justice are perfected.

Yes, there was among the Muslims a sect called the Jabriyya (Compulsionists), who held that man is utterly compelled in all his actions, with no choice whatsoever, claiming there is no difference

between a person's movement and the trembling of a paralytic. This was a passing doctrine among some schools of thought, a flash of corrupt sophistry. The adherents of this doctrine became extinct by the end of the fourth century of the Hijra, leaving no trace. The belief in Divine Decree and Destiny is not the same as belief in compulsion, nor are the consequences that those deluded ones imagined necessary from it.

Belief in Divine Decree is supported by conclusive proof; indeed, it is guided by instinct. It is easy for anyone with a mind to notice that every event has a cause that accompanies it in time, and that he does not see from the chain of causes except what is present to him. He does not know its past except its Originator and the Perfecter of its system. Each has a clear connection to what follows, by the decree of the Almighty, the All-Knowing. Human will is but a link in that chain. Will is nothing but a power of attraction and repulsion, of acceptance and rejection—a state that arises in the soul according to what is presented to it of the necessities of its life. So from the universe, it has the power over thought and will that no fool, let alone a wise person, would deny. However, the ultimate cause of these visible phenomena is in the hand of the Governor of the universe, Who originated things according to His wisdom, and made every event follow its like, as if it were a recompense for it, especially in the human world.

Look at what you see from the influence of things and the course of worldly events upon human wills. Can any person step outside this

way that God has established in His creation? This is something that seekers of truth, let alone the learned, acknowledge. Indeed, some of the European philosophers and political scientists have resorted to submission to the authority of Divine Decree, and have elaborated in proving it. We do not need to cite their opinions, for history has a science beyond mere narration, which scholars of every nation have studied—the science of the principles of the rise and fall of nations, and what precedes them of actions, and what follows from them of changes and transformations in customs, morals, thoughts, and even in the characteristics of inner feeling and innate temperament. This is what leads to the grandeur of some nations and the decline of others and the erasure of their traces. This science, which they consider among the greatest and most beneficial of literary arts, is based on the belief in Divine Decree and Destiny, and the acknowledgement that human powers are in the grasp of the Manager of all things and the Disposer of events. If human power were independent in its influence, no high thing would fall, no strong thing would grow weak, no glory would be demolished, and no sovereignty would be overthrown.

Belief in Divine Decree and Destiny, when stripped of the ugliness of compulsion, is followed by the qualities of boldness and initiative, the creation of courage and valour, and it urges the braving of perils that terrify the hearts of lions. It makes the soul taste the bitterness of hardship and the sweetness of glory, adorns it with the ornaments of generosity and magnanimity, calls it to abandon all that is precious to it, even to sacrifice its life and relinquish the pleasures of life—all of this in the path of the truth that has called it to this belief.

The one who believes that life is limited, that sustenance is guaranteed, and that all things are in the hand of God, directing them as He wills—how can he fear death in defending his rights, elevating the word of his nation or his religion, and fulfilling what God has commanded him? How can he be stingy with his wealth in strengthening truth and building glory, according to divine commands and the principles of human societies? God praised the Muslims for this belief, explaining its virtue, in His truthful saying: “Those to whom the people said, 'Indeed, the people have gathered against you, so fear them.' But it increased them in faith, and they said, 'Sufficient for us is Allah, and He is the best Disposer of affairs.' So they returned with blessing from Allah and bounty, no harm having touched them. And they pursued the pleasure of Allah, and Allah is the possessor of great bounty.” (Qur'an 3:173-174)

In the early days of their religion, the Muslims surged into kingdoms and regions, conquering and dominating them. They astonished minds and bewildered intellects by subduing states and conquering nations. Their authority stretched from the Pyrenees mountains separating Spain and France to the Great Wall of China, with their small number and tiny force, lacking the usual weapons of war and the tools of conquest. They overthrew the Caesars and the Chosroes in a period not exceeding eighty years. This is counted among the miracles of wonders and the greatest of marvels. They demolished lands, levelled mountains, and raised above the earth another earth of dust and blood.

They crushed the heads of mountains under the hooves of their horses, replacing them with mountains and hills of the heads of those who rejected their authority. They terrified every heart and made every being tremble. What drove them and guided them to all this was none other than belief in Divine Decree and Destiny.

It was this belief that firmly planted the feet of their small numbers before armies that overflowed with fighters and were teeming with warriors. It drove them to hold their ground and repel the enemy. Through this belief, their swords flashed in the East, and their stars descended upon the bewildered in the heat of wars from the people of the West. It was this belief that carried them to sacrifice their wealth and all they possessed for the elevation of their word, fearing neither poverty nor want. This belief made it easy for them to carry their children, their women, and their dependents to the battlefields in the furthest lands of the world, as if they were journeying to gardens and meadows. They took for themselves, through trust in God, a fortress against every calamity, and surrounded themselves with reliance upon Him as a shield against every disaster. Their women and children, their old and young, did not leave the men except bearing arms; no fear seized the women, nor did anxiety unsettle their hearts.

It was this belief that elevated them to the point where their name alone melted hearts and scattered the very innards of men. They were often aided by sheer terror, which was cast into the hearts of their enemies, making them flee through fear before they even glimpsed the

flashes of their swords or the edges of their spears—indeed, before the vanguards of their armies even reached their borders.

I weep for the past and mourn for the earlier ones! Where are you, O band of mercy and guardians of nobility? Where are you, O leaders of virtue and heroes of strength? Where are you, O best nation brought forth for mankind, commanding good and forbidding evil, and believing in God? Where are you, O firm pillars, the upholders of justice, the practitioners of wisdom, the founders of the nation? Do you not look from within your graves to what your successors have done after you? Do you not see what has befallen your children and those who follow your path? They have deviated from your way, strayed from your path, and become scattered sects, until they have become so weak that hearts melt in sorrow and livers burn in grief. They have become prey to foreign nations, unable to defend their pool or protect their territory. Does not a caller from your tombs cry out, awakening the heedless, rousing the sleeping, and guiding the lost to the right path? “To God we belong, and to Him we return.”

I say—and perhaps I do not fear any deluded person who would argue with me in what I say—that from the beginning of human history to this day, no great conqueror, no famous warrior, born in the middle classes and raised by his ambition to the highest ranks, making the difficult easy, subjugating necks, and reaching such vast sovereignty that inspires wonder and provokes thought to seek the cause, was ever found except that he was a believer in Divine Decree and Destiny.

Glory be to God! Man is naturally and instinctively eager for his life and stingy with his existence. What then makes it easy for him to brave perils and risk death except belief in Divine Decree and Destiny, and his heart's reliance on the fact that what is decreed will come to pass, and that the fearsome outward appearances have no real effect?

History has proven to us that Cyrus the Persian (Kai Khosrow)—the first conqueror known in ancient history—only succeeded in his vast conquests because he believed in Divine Decree and Destiny. This belief made him unshaken by terror, and no hardship could weaken his resolve. Alexander the Great, the Greek, was among those in whom this noble belief was deeply rooted. Genghis Khan, the Tatar, the famous conqueror, was also an adherent of this belief. Indeed, Napoleon Bonaparte, the French, was among the most fervent adherents of the doctrine of Divine Decree—it was what drove him with his small armies against vast multitudes, achieving victory and gaining his desired triumph.

What an excellent belief, which instils in the human soul the spirit of heroism and elevates its ambition so that its possessor reaches his perfection, whatever his station!

Yes, we do not deny that this belief, mixed in the souls of some common Muslims with the impurities of the doctrine of compulsion, may have been a reason for their being afflicted with some of the

calamities that events have brought upon them in recent centuries. Our hope is in the deeply-rooted scholars of this age to exert their utmost effort to purify this noble doctrine from some of the innovations that have attached to it, to remind the common people of the path of the righteous early ancestors (al-salaf[4] al-ṣāliḥ) and what they used to do, and to spread among them what our Imams—may God be pleased with them—such as Al-Ghazali and his like, have established: that trust in God and reliance upon Divine Decree is demanded of us in action, not in idleness and laziness. God has not commanded us to neglect our duties and abandon what He has obligated upon us under the pretext of relying upon Him. That is the argument of those who have deviated from religion and strayed from the straight path. No one among the followers of the Islamic faith doubts that defending the nation in these times has become an individual obligation (farḍ 'ayn) upon every responsible believer.

Between the Muslims and their return to the true beliefs that unite their word, restore their resolve, and revive their zeal to reclaim their former glory, there is nothing but a call from the best of their scholars. All of this is entrusted to their responsibility.

As for what they claim about the decline and backwardness of the Muslims, its source is not this doctrine (nor any other Islamic doctrine), and attributing it to it is like attributing heat to ice and cold to fire. Yes, after their early vigour, the Muslims were seized by a

drunkenness of victory and a satiety of glory and dominance. Then two powerful shocks struck them while they were in that state:

1. A shock from the East: the Tatar invasion of Genghis Khan and his descendants.
2. A shock from the West: the advance of the European nations upon their lands.

A shock in a state of drunkenness is overwhelming, causing stupor and paralysis by natural law. After that, the reins of their affairs fell into the hands of those who were incapable of managing them properly. Their rulers and princes were the germs of corruption in their morals and natures, and they were the cause of their misery and affliction. Thus, weakness took hold of their souls, and the visions of many of them were reduced to the particulars of their immediate pleasures. Each sought to harm the other, from every door, without a sound reason or a strong motive. They made this the fruit of life, and thus they led to the weakness and despair that brought them to their current state.

But I say, and I will say it: This nation will not die as long as these noble beliefs take hold in their hearts, their forms shine in their minds, and their truths are circulated among the deeply-rooted scholars among them. Whatever psychic illnesses and mental ailments have befallen them, the strength of their true beliefs will inevitably repel them. The matter will return as it began; they will shake off their fetters, and they will go the ways of wisdom and zeal in saving their

lands, terrifying the nations that covet them, and stopping them at their limits. This is not far-fetched; historical events support it.

Look at the Ottomans who, after those severe shocks (the Tatar and Crusader wars), rose again, sent armies to all parts of the world, expanded their conquests, subdued nations, forced kings to submit, and the European states submitted to their rule. Indeed, the Ottoman Sultan was titled the Great Sultan among the powers. Then look again—you will find a tremor in their souls and a movement in their natures, caused by what the recent events have warned them of a bad end. This movement has stirred the thoughts of the wise among them in most regions, East and West. Groups of their best have formed for the truth, writing upon themselves the support of justice and the Sharia, striving with utmost effort to spread their ideas, to unite the scattered word, to gather the dispersed, and to make the least of their aims a "lodge" to bind what is between the distant ones and to convey to them some of what the foreigners harbour for them. We see the number of this righteous association increasing day by day. We ask God Almighty for the success of their works and the support of their rightful purpose. Our hope is in His generosity that the effects of their good efforts will be beneficial to the Easterners in general, and to the Muslims in particular.

Chapter Eight: Virtues and Vices, and Their Effects

“And remind, for indeed the reminder benefits the believers.” (Qur'an 51:55)

They say: Man has a perfection that he is obligated to strive towards, and he is subject to a deficiency that he must avoid. Man’s nature is capable of acquiring virtues and is susceptible to falling into vices. What, then, are virtues, and what are vices?

Virtues are dispositions of the soul whose inherent nature requires harmony and reconciliation between those characterized by them. For example, generosity, chastity, modesty, and the like. Two generous people do not compete or quarrel in their dealings, for it is the nature of each to give in truth, and to withhold only when the situation demands it, so no cause for conflict arises in their financial transactions. The chaste do not vie with one another over desired pleasures, for it is the nature of each to shun lust and to prefer others over their own desires. Thus, if you examine all the qualities that the moral scientists count as virtuous, you will find that from each virtue necessarily arises a harmony between those who possess it in the sphere of the effect that proceeds from it. When virtues are combined, or prevail in two individuals, their souls incline towards unity and cohesion in all their actions and purposes, or most of them. The unity

between them lasts to the extent that virtue is firmly rooted. And so it is with large groups of people.

Virtues, then, are the basis of unity in the social body and the bond of union among individuals. They incline each towards the other, towards those similar to them, until the multitude of people becomes like a single person, moving with a single will and seeking in its movement a single goal. The sum of all virtues is justice in all actions. When justice encompasses a group of the human species, its individuals cooperate and support one another. Each individual person has a unique existence, and Divine care has instilled in him the powers by which he preserves his own existence, and the means of reproduction for the survival of the species. In this, he is equal to other animals. However, Divine wisdom has decreed that man be distinguished from the rest of the animal species by having a different finality and a higher, more noble existence: the existence of society. Thus, from his numerous individuals, a single entity is formed, encompassed by a single name. The individuals within it are like organs, differing in functions and forms; each performs its work for the survival of the collective entity, its strengthening, and the fulfillment of its share of existence, so that a share of its collective work returns to them. This is as God has instilled in the organs of our bodies and our personal constitution.

Virtues in human society are like the life-force fully present in every organ, enabling it to perform its work while staying within the limits

of its function. The hand has the power to grasp and reach, but sight is not among its characteristics. The eye has sight and distinguishes colors and forms, but grasping is not among its functions. All are alive with a single life. If you wish, you could say: Virtues in the human world are like the general gravitational force in the great universe. Just as gravity preserves the order of planets and celestial bodies, and by the balance of gravity each planet is fixed in its orbit, and the relationship between it and other planets is preserved, and the universal system is maintained by the wisdom of the Creator, the Most High, in the stability of the heavens and their permanence—so is the case with virtues in human society. By them, God preserves the personal existence until the appointed term, and establishes the permanence of the species until God's command comes.

In a nation where the raiser and the lowerer, the cultivator and the ruler, the bringer and the repeller—all who manage its affairs and govern it in its various concerns—are individuals from among its people, from its elites or its middle classes, down to its lowest ranks. Each of them performs well for the sake of the whole, chooses no purpose that contradicts the whole's purpose, nor strives for a goal that deviates from the whole's goal. No one neglects his own due share, for the unity of the whole strengthens the unity of its parts, just as a strong body has strong organs. And by the strength of each, the nation gathers a strength that preserves its position, defends its honour and glory, and repels the raids of others upon it. In a nation where virtues prevail and take the place of vices, its individuals do not differ except for harmony, nor diverge except for unity. In the diversity of their

work, they are like two people walking in opposite directions around the circumference of a circle, starting apart only to meet again at a point on the circumference. Their example in the varied ways they bring their benefits is like the two ends of a single rope, each taking an end, with equal forces pulling. In one's pulling of the other, there is a distancing of himself from him in one respect, and a preservation of their place of meeting in another. They do not separate or diverge, and the benefit of one is not lost in the benefit of the other.

Indeed, the paths of individuals in such a nation, due to the bonds between them, are like halves of a circle whose center is the life and greatness of the nation. None of them steps outside the circle of the community. In bringing its benefits and fulfilling its advantages, they are like streams that feed the sea to draw from it. Each one of them knows that the pride of the human soul, and its inclination towards the higher aspirations—distinguishing it from animals—the elevation of station, dominance, influence, and authority, can only be achieved if the nation possesses what makes it worthy of that station. So he works for the nation as he works for himself, for his own perfection, and prepares himself to take his share of what it attains. He neglects nothing, and betrays no individual among its members, let alone its general entity. For he would be betraying himself, as he would be disabling a tool of his own work and cutting off a means to his own goal. He does not despise any individual, nor belittle his work. He considers a person of the nation—even if he is small—like a small nail in a great machine; if it falls out, the machine is disabled by its loss.

You must look at the true nature of qualities to judge the effects that arise from them, as we have explained: reflection, deliberation, the freeing of thought from the shackles of illusions, chastity, generosity, contentment, gentleness, dignity, humility, high ambition, patience, forbearance, courage, selflessness, valour, magnanimity, truthfulness, faithfulness, trustworthiness, purity of heart from rancour and envy, pardon, kindness, chivalry, zeal, love of justice, and compassion.

Do you not think that a nation of people, if even a portion of them were characterized by these noble qualities, would have nothing between them but unity and perfect cohesion? Is there any cause for conflict and animosity between two wise, free, truthful, faithful, generous, courageous, compassionate, patient, forbearing, humble, dignified, chaste, and merciful people? Indeed, by God, if a breath of the spirit of these virtues were to blow upon the land of a people, and if it were a dead land, it would revive it; if it were barren, it would make it flourish. It would unite them in a way that distances them, and distance them in a way that unites them. It would establish for them a fortress of unity that cannot be breached, and an impenetrable barrier that cannot be violated. The foremost nation to reach perfection in these noble qualities is the one whose Prophet said: “I have been sent to perfect the noble qualities of character.”

Virtue is the life of nations; it preserves their bodies from the intrusion of foreign elements, and protects them from the dissolution that leads

to annihilation. “And your Lord would never destroy the cities in injustice while their people were reformers.” (Qur'an 11:117)

As for vices, they are evil qualities that afflict souls, whose nature is to dissolve and divide the two polarities of the nation. They include avarice, miserliness, cowardice, betrayal, debauchery, gluttony, lust, arrogance, stubbornness, mockery, treachery, perfidy, lies, and hypocrisy. Which of these vices, if it appears in a nation, does not result in enmity and conflict between its people, and lead them into paths of discord where there is no hope of reconciliation? The nature of each of them is either to exceed the proper limit in a way that harms others, or to fall short to the point of incapacitating a person from fulfilling his duty towards those who share his nationality, religion, tribe, clan, or any type of relationship. It is in the nature of oppression to lead to hatred of the oppressor, and cowardice to lead to contempt for the coward. If you prefer, imagine two evil, foolish, cowardly, miserly people (each denying the other's rights), lustful, spiteful, envious, arrogant (each admiring only his own actions), stubborn, treacherous, perfidious, and deceitful. Is it not inevitable that they would despise and hate each other, even without any further motive? Their very nature and qualities are sufficient to make them reject each other.

If these vices spread in a nation, they demolish its structure, scatter its members, and disperse them. Then, the nature of social existence inevitably calls for an alien power to overcome this nation, to take it

by force, and to drive it into the works of life by compulsion. For their needs in livelihood require social organization, which is impossible with these qualities. Thus, only an external power can preserve a semblance of social order to the extent of necessity. These are characteristics that, when firmly rooted in a people, make their internal strength severe, but they are all directed against themselves. They are powerful against one another, but humble before the foreigner. They call their enemies to dominate them, and they boast of belonging to them. They pave the way for the conquerors to harm them, and they place the claws of assassins into their own vitals. They see every good from their own people as ugly, and every great deed from them as contemptible. If a foreigner speaks what their own children utter, they count it among the most profound wisdom and precious judgment. If one of them dives into the sea of existence and extracts for them the pearls of truth and reveals the subtleties of secrets, they count it as worthless merchandise, saying by the language of their state or their words: “It is impossible that a knower should come from us, and it is inconceivable that an expert should exist among us!”

They are dominated by the love of vainglory and false pride. They compete in base and mean affairs. They doubt the advice of sincere advisors, even if the strongest proofs support their truthfulness. They mock the admonishers, even if they are seeking their good with the utmost sincerity. They exert their efforts to frustrate those who strive to elevate their standing and unify their word, laying traps in their path and preparing obstacles to make them stumble. You see them, with their conflicting morals and contradictory conditions, like a body

stricken with paralysis—its limbs cannot be coordinated in motion; it is impossible to move a limb in a specific way for a specific purpose. Thus, their actions are beyond control and fall outside the rules of order.

Their corrupted natures make them a source and cause of harm; one of them becomes like a rabid dog, first biting his companion before the stranger. Indeed, like one afflicted with complete madness, he first attacks his nurturer and reformer, as if he were a destructive insect, a gnawing worm, a cancerous disease, or a devouring eater. They tear the nation into pieces and fragments, after disfiguring its face and distorting its entity. Those people graze in the pastures of baseness and meanness, until baseness overcomes all their other qualities. They swell with arrogance towards their own countrymen, and are humbled before even the lowliest of foreigners, let alone their nobles. By this, they establish humiliation in their own souls and the souls of their people, imprinting upon them submission to foreigners, indeed to bitter enemies. This passes from one class to another until the nation is destroyed, its entity is abrogated, and it is absorbed into another nation or creed. Such is God's way in the succession of states and the annihilation of nations: “And thus is the seizure of your Lord when He seizes the cities while they are committing wrong. Indeed, His seizure is painful and severe.” (Qur'an 11:102) May God protect us from this end, and preserve our nation and creed from such a fate.

So what is the course of action for those whom God has guided to the path of virtues, and from whom the examples of vices have been distanced? How can human societies benefit from unity and preserve their beings from corruption? “Every child is born upon the natural disposition[8] (fiṭrah).” It is a substance ready to receive every form and to be coloured with any colour. Can it acquire the perfection of virtue from its fathers and forefathers? How can it have any share of it when they were raised as they raised their own child? The guide of truth directs us to the understanding that moderation in fundamental morals, the adornment with the qualities of virtues, and the training of powers and bodily faculties to work according to their effects, can only be achieved through religion. The effect of religion in the souls of its followers, leading them to a plentiful share of what it guides to, and thus to a good life and a healthy existence, cannot be fully realised unless the leaders of religion, its bearers and guardians, perform their duties: clarifying its commands and prohibitions, establishing them in the minds, calling people to act upon them, awakening the heedless to their observance, and reminding the forgetful of its guidance. If the servants of religion neglect their duties or are lax in performing them, certainty in the convictions weakens, the soul's readiness for the true paths of guidance diminishes, the animalistic desires dominate, the necessities of livelihood take control, the balance of choice tips towards what is base and lowly, and the portals of vices open to the souls. Thus, the nation misses the paths of happiness, and they are afflicted with the misery we have already pointed to.

These are the causes of ruin in every nation. Their effects have appeared in countless nations since the beginning of human existence to this day. The remnants of some still bear witness to what vices have done to them, after they had changed and altered. As in the case of the Dahriyya (atheists) of the "Mank" from the inhabitants of the Indian territories, known to the Europeans as the "Parya" tribe... “So look how was the end of those before them.” (Qur'an 10:39) Religion, which drives to happiness in this world as it drives to it in the Hereafter, is the most worthy of being given a high status and position. But those who neglected it lost it, and God stripped them of the crowns of their glory and cast them upon the heads of other peoples. Today, sects of them are struggling... but this is not the place for detail. We have mentioned this only as a sign, and a warning to the followers of Islam in the East, and to its leaders. God's judgment is written in His Book: “Indeed, Allah will not change the condition of a people until they change what is in themselves.” (Qur'an 13:11)

This may happen. And perhaps it is not denied now that many of the common Muslims, although their beliefs are sound regarding what pertains to doctrine, yet they do not follow the path of the pure Sharia in some of their actions. This causes a weakness in the nation's strength, proportionate to the deviation from the path of moderation in virtues and actions. “Whatever strikes you of disaster, it is for what your hands have earned.” (Qur'an 42:30) However, the Muslims have not ceased to hold onto the principles of virtues inherited from their forefathers. They have a good submission to what their Sharia and their Book have brought, which is recited upon their tongues, and the

Sunnah of their Prophet, which they transmit in narration and understanding, and the way of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs and the righteous early ancestors (salaf) is inscribed upon the pages of the souls of their elite. What has befallen some of them of heedlessness in following the Sharia, and the resulting weakness in strength, is but a passing symptom and a transitory state that will not last.

Look with a fair eye at what the verses of the Qur'an have instilled of noble virtues and honourable traits; look at the Muslims' zeal in respecting their Book and venerating it. You will judge with certainty that if the scholars of the Islamic faith were to exert themselves in performing their obligatory duties—by virtue of their inheritance from the Lawgiver, and the command of God directed to them in His truthful saying: “And let there be from you a nation inviting to good, commanding what is right and forbidding what is wrong, and those are the successful.” (Qur'an 3:104) “And it is not for the believers to go forth all together. Rather, a party from every group should go forth to obtain understanding in religion and to warn their people when they return to them, so that they may beware.” (Qur'an 9:122) If they were to preach to the common people what the Qur'an proclaims, and remind them of what the Lawgiver and his successors, who followed his path, were upon of praiseworthy qualities and good deeds, then you would see the Islamic nation shaking off its shackles, united in restoring its glory and preserving its general sovereignty from weakness, and its religious integrity from rupture—all in the shortest time. It would be but a single shout, and then they would be standing, looking on.

There is no doubt that the deeply-rooted scholars of the Islamic faith know that what has afflicted the Muslims in these recent times is what they have brought upon themselves by their own excesses. They have no argument against God. So hope is placed in their ambitions, their religious zeal, and their national fervour, that they will direct their attention to mending the breach before it widens, and treating the illness before it becomes entrenched. They will remind the sons of the nation of the commands of God, and establish among them the bonds of brotherhood and unity, as God commanded in His Book and upon the tongue of His Prophet. They will exert their utmost effort to erase the despair and resignation that have seized the hearts of some of them, convincing them that none despairs of God's grace except those whose hearts are diseased and whose beliefs are deviated. They will lead them on a path that unites their word, unifies their direction, strengthens in them the rejection of injustice and the aversion to humiliation, and awakens in them the spirit of pride, so that not a single soul permits itself to commit meanness in its religion. They will uncover for them the reality of God's promise and His true threat in His saying: “And it is a duty upon Us to help the believers.” (Qur'an 30:47)

"And obey Allah and His Messenger, and do not dispute and [thus] lose courage and your strength would depart." (Qur'an 8:46)

The sovereignty of Islam once overshadowed the earth from the furthest point of the West to the borders of China, stretching in width from the lands of the Turks in the North to the southern regions beyond the equator. Its boundaries were contiguous, and its lands were inhabited by Muslims who possessed a truly remarkable authority. They managed, by their might, to bend the globe to their will, with only a small portion remaining beyond their control. No army could defeat them, no stronghold could withstand them, and no fortress could resist them. Their cultivated lands—their expansive plains and the foothills of their mountains—were verdant and flourishing with all kinds of plants, adorned with varieties of trees, all the work of Muslim hands. Their cities were populous, built upon the firmest foundations of civilization, rivaling the cities of the world with the crafts and wonders of their inhabitants. They boasted of the suns of virtue, the moons of knowledge, and the stars of guidance—men who held the highest rank in the sciences and literatures.

In the East, there were figures like Avicenna (Ibn Sina), Al-Farabi, Al-Razi, and others. In the West, there were Ibn Bajjah (Avempace),

Ibn Rushd (Averroes), Ibn Tufayl, and their like. Between them were cities teeming with scholars of wisdom, medicine, astronomy, geometry, and all the rational sciences. This is in addition to the religious sciences, which were common among all classes of the nation. The Abbasid Caliph would utter a word, and the Emperor of China would submit to it; the greatest kings of Europe would tremble in fear of him. Among their kings in the medieval ages were Mahmud al-Ghaznavi, Malikshah al-Seljuqi, and Saladin al-Ayyubi. In the East, there was Timur the Lame (Timur Lenk); in the West, Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror, Sultan Selim, and Sultan Suleiman the Ottoman. These are men who passed away, yet time has not erased their memory nor obliterated their legacy.

The Muslim fleets had an unrivalled dominion over the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean. They held the highest authority in those seas until quite recently. Their opponents submitted to the greatness of their virtue as they humbled themselves to their authority. Today, the Muslims still inhabit those regions inherited from their fathers. Their numbers are no less than four hundred million. Their individuals in every region, due to what their hearts have absorbed of their religious beliefs, are braver and more daring in facing death than any others. They are the people who most disdain this worldly life and care the least for its fleeting vanities.

The Qur’an came to them with its decisive verses, demanding that its readers provide proof for their beliefs, condemning the reliance on

conjecture and the clinging to illusions, and calling to virtues and noble traits. It deposited in their thoughts the jewels of truth and scattered in their souls the seeds of virtue. By the principles of their religion, they are more luminous in reason, sharper in mind, more capable of attaining human perfections, and closer to uprightness in morals than any other people. They have the right to pride themselves on being singled out for honour, and on what their truthful Book has promised them—that their cause will prevail over all the world's affairs, even if the wrongdoers despise it.

They do not wish for the authority of others over them, nor does the thought of submitting to any other power, however harsh or gentle, enter their minds. This is due to the brotherhood among them, strengthened by their common creed. Each one of them considers the fall of any part of their nation under foreign rule as a fall of their own self. They feel a profound loss and find no consolation for it. What has become deeply ingrained in their souls from the roots of knowledge, to which their religion guided them—and of which they took the greatest share in the heyday of their state—makes them consider themselves the most deserving of knowledge and the most worthy of virtue. That was their former state, and this is their description now. Yet, with all this, they have stalled in their progress; indeed, they have fallen behind others in knowledge and industry, despite having once been the teachers of the world. Their kingdoms are losing parts of their territory, and their borders are being torn apart. Their religion commands them not to submit to the authority of those who oppose them; indeed, the greatest pillar of their religion is to cast off the rule

of foreigners from their lands, to remove it from their homes, and to contest every power's might.

Have they forgotten God's promise to them that they would inherit the earth, as His righteous servants? Have they been heedless of God's guarantee to elevate their cause over all others, even if the criminals despise it? Have they forgotten that God has purchased from them their lives and their wealth to elevate His word, granting them Paradise in return? No, by God! The Islamic beliefs are still the masters of the Muslims' hearts and rulers over their will. In matters of religious doctrine and the virtues of the Sharia, both their commoners and elite are equal.

Yes, the shortcomings in cultivating the sciences, and the weakness in power, have causes—the greatest of which is the contention among their seekers of kingship. As we have previously stated, the Muslims have no nationality except their religion. Thus, the multiplicity of rulers among them is like the multiplicity of chieftains in a single tribe, or sultans of a single race, with diverse and conflicting purposes and goals. They preoccupied the minds of everyone with the support of one faction against another. They distracted the common people by setting up means of mutual coercion and subjugation. These rivalries—which closely resembled internal strife—led to a forgetfulness of what they had once achieved in the sciences and industries, let alone any progress to acquire what they had not yet attained, or to advance to its higher levels. From this arose the poverty

and need you see, followed by weakness in power and a flaw in order. The disputes among the princes brought about the disunity of the word and the breaking of the stick. They were thus distracted from the aggression of foreigners upon them.

This was the case with the Muslim princes, even when they were alone in the arenas of the world, with no other nations to rival them. But corruption festered in the souls of those princes over time, and vain greed and ambition took hold of their natures. They turned to their desires. The lofty goals of enduring glory were lost to them. They contented themselves with the titles of princedom and the names of sultanate, and with the outward trappings of vainglory, pomp, and the softness of life for a period of time. They chose to ally with the foreigner, who opposed them in religion and race, seeking his support and help to preserve their own rule—preserving this decaying spectre and fleeting pleasure. This is what destroyed the Muslims of Andalusia, demolished the foundations of the Timurid Sultanate in India, and upon its ruins and remnants, the English built their power in that land. Thus, the fancies of the foolish played with the Islamic kingdoms, and their false ambitions cast them into the abyss of weakness and debility. Wretched is what they have done, and evil is what they used to do! Those are the ones who were distracted by their pleasures and absorbed in their lusts. They are the ones who scattered the community of the nation, wasted its affairs, halted the progress of its sciences, and caused stagnation in its beneficial works—industry, trade, and agriculture—by tying the hands of its sons.

May God curse greed for this world and the ruinous pursuit of its base things! How severe is their harm, and how evil is their effect! They cast the word of God behind their backs, and denied one of the greatest of His obligations. They differed among themselves while the enemy was at their doors. It was incumbent upon them to unite under a single word, so that they could repel the raids of the distant enemy, and only then return to their own internal affairs. What did their excessive greed and competition in trivialities profit them? It profited them only a lasting regret in life and an eternal misery after death, and an evil remembrance that the days will not erase.

By the majesty of truth and the secret of justice, had the Muslims left themselves and their condition with the beliefs they hold, and with the care of their true scholars, their souls would have known one another and their individuals would have united. But, alas! Those corruptors have infiltrated them—those who see all happiness in the title of an Emir or a king, even if he rules over a village with no real authority. These are the ones who turned the Muslims away from what God had entrusted to them, and rebelled against their kings and caliphs, until faces became unrecognizable and desires diverged.

Agreement and mutual support to strengthen the Islamic state is among the strongest pillars of the Muhammadan faith. The believers—the commoners of this nation, let alone the elite—do not need any teacher to teach them this, nor a book to establish it, nor

letters to publish it. Their sighs rise, and their eyes overflow with tears of grief and sorrow for what has befallen their nation of divided opinions and conflicting desires. If it were not for the presence of the misguided among the princes—those with ambitions for power—their East would have united with their West, and their North with their South, and they would have all answered a single call. The Muslims do not need, to safeguard their rights, anything more than the awakening of their thoughts to know what is required for defence, the agreement of their opinions to act upon it when needed, and the connection of their hearts arising from a feeling for the dangers that befall the nation.

Have you not seen the Russian nation? Do you find among them anything more than these three principles? They are a nation that is backward in arts and industries compared to other European nations. Their kingdoms do not possess great sources of wealth, and even if they do, there is no industrial base to make it abundant. They are afflicted with need and poverty. Yet, did this prevent them from being a tremendous force? No, it did not. Despite their backwardness, the unity of their word, the solidarity of their factions, and the connection of their hearts gave them a state whose might makes the very pillars of Europe tremble. Russia did not have factories for most of its war machines, yet that did not prevent them from acquiring them. Military arts did not progress among them to the level of their neighbours. Nevertheless, this did not stop them from bringing officers from other nations to train their armies, until their army had a force that terrifies and a might that the states of Europe fear.

So what has prevented us from imitating others in what is the easiest thing for us, while we are the most inclined of people to it—the care for the honour of the nation, the aversion to what degrades it, and the cooperation to preserve the unity that binds us, beyond all that would break it? What has turned our thoughts away from action and our ambitions from rising? Only those luxuriously corrupt ones! They are eager for delicious food, soft beds, grand buildings, and boasting of servants and retainers. They do not consider in their greed what lies beyond their day. They preserve a hollow title and a discarded custom, contenting themselves with being honoured in seasons and festivals, with the nodding of heads and the bending of backs in veneration, and with the appending of names to official papers that have no real referent. These fallen ones are pleased with these fleeting fantasies, accepting any degradation. They accept from their enemies what not a single man of any rank or status would accept. They place chains and shackles around the necks of the Islamic community, turning away their prey and casting it to the foxes. There is no power nor might except with God, the Most High, the Great!

O you remaining men! ... O you successors of the great ones! Has time come to you? Has the appointed time arrived? Is it now the day to awaken the sleeping? ... Nations of connected lands, united by creed, brought together by the Qur'an—their numbers do not diminish when they unite, and they are distinct from others in courage and valour. Is it not for them to agree on zeal and action, as other nations have agreed?

If they agreed, they would achieve the most extraordinary of their purposes. For agreement is the easiest thing in their religion. Has numbness seized their feelings, so that they do not care for each other's needs? Does not each one have the right to look at his brother according to what God has commanded: “The believers are but brothers” (Qur'an 49:10), so that they may establish, through unity, a barrier that turns away these floods surging upon them from all sides?

I do not seek, by my words here, that the ruler of all should be a single person, for that may be difficult. But I hope that their authority is the Qur'an, and the direction of their unity is the religion. Each ruler in his own realm must strive with his effort to preserve the other, as much as he can. For his life is dependent on his life, and his survival on his survival. This, besides being the foundation of their religion, is dictated by necessity and enforced by the needs of these times.

This is the time for unity! This is the time for unity! Indeed, time offers you opportunities, and they are spoils for you—do not let them slip away. Weeping does not revive the dead; regret does not return the lost; grief does not repel disaster. Action is the key to success; truthfulness and sincerity are the ladder to success. Hesitation brings the appointed hour closer; despair and weakness of ambition are among the causes of death. “And say, 'Work, for Allah will see your work, and His Messenger, and the believers. And you will be returned to the Knower of the unseen and the seen, and He will inform you of what you used to do.'” (Qur'an 9:105)

Do not be among those whom God disliked their being sent forth, so He made them laggards, and they mixed with those who stayed behind. Beware of falling under the saying of God: “They were content to be with those who remained behind, and their hearts were sealed over, so they do not understand.” (Qur'an 9:87) The Qur'an is living, it does not die. Whoever takes a share of its guidance is guided; whoever takes a share of its curse is cursed. The Book of God is not abrogated, so return to it, and make it the judge over your states and your natures. “And Allah is not unaware of what you do.” (Qur'an 2:140)

Perhaps the princes of the Muslims have been admonished by the evil end of the works of those who came before, and they have set out to amend their affairs before they are destroyed, as those who were negligent before them were destroyed. Our hope is that the first shout to call for unity and awaken from slumber will come from the highest in rank and the strongest in might. We do not doubt that the true scholars will have the upper hand in this noble work. And God guides whom He wills, and to God belongs the command before and after.

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Chapter Ten: Unity and Sovereignty, or Harmony and Dominance

"The believer to the believer is like a building, each part supporting the other." (Prophetic Hadith)

Two serious matters, born of necessity at times, and guided by religion at others; education and the practice of manners may also bring them about. Each of them seeks the other and accompanies it; indeed, it necessitates it. By them, nations grow, become great, rise, and are elevated. They are: the inclination towards a unity that gathers, and the passion for a sovereignty that is not surrendered.

When God wills for a people to exist and to establish itself firmly for an appointed term, He instils in its origins these two great qualities. He creates it as a sound creation, and then preserves its life for as long as these two qualities are firmly established within it, until the end of its appointed time. Any nation that does not extend its hand to overcome others, to gain dominance over them to develop its own structure and strengthen its building, will inevitably be devoured, absorbed, and dissolved, and its traces will be erased from the face of the earth. Dominance among nations is like nourishment in personal life. If the body neglects nourishment, the movement of growth stops, then it regresses to withering and decline, and finally leads to death and

destruction. A nation cannot preserve its integrity and dominate its neighbours to extract from them the material for its growth unless it is united in acquiring what its structure needs.

If you sense in a nation an inclination towards unity, you can read in that what God has prepared for it in the unseen of His knowledge: supreme sovereignty and authority over the scattered nations.

If we examine the history of every race and investigate the conditions of peoples in their existence and extinction, we find that God's law in the progression of nations grants them of sovereignty and greatness in proportion to their striving for dominance. No people deviated from the path of unity and mutual support, nor sank to a lower station, except that God seized them with affliction and destruction. They inflicted upon themselves what the enemies of justice had inflicted upon them from the evil of the times. God did not destroy a people except after they were afflicted with division and entangled in discord, which bequeathed them a long humiliation, a painful torment, and then an utter annihilation.

On the other hand, harmony, communication, and proximity are brought about by each individual's feeling for the nation's interests and harms, and a sincere sense of what the nation gains of might and sovereignty—which is as beloved to them as the most desired thing—and what it loses of that, which they grieve over as they would

grieve over the greatest calamity. This feeling is what prompts each one to think about the affairs of his nation, making a portion of his time devoted to considering what brings it honour and authority, and what repels the evils of deception and aggression. His preoccupation with this is no less than his preoccupation with his own private affairs. Moreover, it is not a barren, wandering thought, confined within the walls of imagination, lingering on the tips of tongues. Rather, it is an insight followed by a determination that produces action, striving to complete it with as much capacity and ability as possible, just as one would strive to secure the necessities of life—with no difference. Indeed, souls find the matter of the nation to be the first of purposes and the greatest of obligations, surpassing private concerns in rank. They do not stop at securing immediate benefits and repelling immediate harms. The wise take from it paths of thought and draw swords of determination to attain the scattered glories of the past and the forgotten rights of the present. They strive to bring back their nation's former strength, to secure its life and revive its spirit, to the extent that the vigour of its sons and the extent of their knowledge allow. They work to provide for their nation what secures a good life for its coming generations. Indeed, they increase in this regard to the point of thoroughness, so that they leave behind a legacy for their descendants.

The first era in the lives of nations is no less than five centuries; the subsequent eras follow, with the earliest being the shortest—the age of childhood—and the beginning of perfection coming in the one that follows. How high are the ambitions of the wise and the discerning!

When this feeling reaches the level we have described in the individuals of a nation, you see among its common people and its elite ambitions that rise, and resolves that ascend, and courage that leads, and determination that drives—all seeking sovereignty and dominance. Their ambitions meet, and their determinations converge in the path of seeking it. They surge to overcome those who are near them, as torrents surge over lowlands. Their movement does not stop before reaching the goal they have risen for. Their leap upon other nations, after the first dominance, becomes an instinctive flow that requires no thought or deliberation, except in preparing the means of victory and success.

These two matters—harmony and dominance—are strong pillars and mighty foundations of the Islamic faith. They are obligatory duties upon those who hold fast to it. Whoever disobeys God's command in what He has obligated is threatened with His wrath, with humiliation in this world and punishment in the Hereafter. The Prophet (peace be upon him) said: “The believer to the believer is like a building, each part supporting the other.” And: “The believer is to the believer like the organs of a single body; if one part is pained, the rest of the body responds with fever and wakefulness.” He also forbade saying: “Do not cut ties, do not turn away from each other, do not envy each other, and be, O servants of God, brothers.” He warned that whoever deviates from the community will be lost and destroyed, giving the example of a stray sheep that becomes prey for wolves. All this comes

after God commanded His servants to hold fast to His rope and forbade them from division and mutual neglect. He bestowed upon them the blessing of brotherhood after they had been enemies. The Divine Book declares: “The believers are but brothers” (Qur'an 49:10). It commands those addressed by its verses to hasten to reconcile differences when they occur. Then, it emphasizes the obligation of reconciliation even if it leads to fighting the transgressor, saying: “And if two factions among the believers fight, then make peace between them. But if one of them oppresses the other, then fight against the one that oppresses until it returns to the command of God.” (Qur'an 49:9) God commands entering into what the believers have agreed upon and unifying the comprehensive word: “And do not be like those who became divided and differed after clear proofs had come to them.” (Qur'an 3:105) The Holy Book threatens everyone who deviates from the path of the believers with painful punishment, ruling that whoever follows a path other than the believers, God will turn him to what he has turned to and cast him into Hell—and what an evil destination! In His clear command, there is an obligation to cooperate in righteousness and piety. There is no righteousness more deserving of cooperation than strengthening the word of truth and elevating the banner of the nation.

The truthful (peace be upon him) informed us that “The hand of God is with the community.” And the Divine power is sufficient support when unity is established and harmony is sincere. The status of agreement in the Islamic Sharia has reached the highest degree of religious care, so much so that the consensus of the nation and its

agreement has been made a source revealing the judgment of God and what is in His knowledge. The Sharia obligates adhering to it upon all Muslims, and considers denying it as a departure from religion and a stripping of faith. The Prophet's care for the matter of agreement is evident in his saying: "If I were called to a covenant of virtue (ḥilf al-fuḍūl), I would answer it." (This was a covenant made by the tribes of Hashim, Zahra, and Taym, when they gathered at the house of 'Abdullah ibn Jud'an, pledging to defend the oppressed and take rights from the oppressor. It was called the covenant of virtue because they pledged not to leave any surplus of a person's rights—taken by injustice—without retrieving it and returning it to its rightful owner). This was a pre-Islamic pact, yet the Lawgiver explicitly stated that he would accept it if called to it. This is a summary of the evidence for the obligation of agreement and the prohibition of enmity and mutual estrangement among Muslims, and even between them and others who have accepted their protection and their covenant with good conduct in their Sharia. The path of the believers is broad enough for all.

As for striving to elevate the word of truth, expand the kingdom, and establish general sovereignty, you will not find a single verse in the noble Qur'an that does not call for it, loudly demanding that Muslims strive for it, and forbidding them from sitting back or failing to perform their duties in times of jihad and defending the nation. They are commanded not to leave for the pagans any way to dominate their religion, until there is no more persecution (fitnah) and the religion is entirely for God. The Prophetic Sunnah and the Prophet's biography, supporting the Qur'anic verses, have been collected by scholars in

numerous volumes, too many to count. This is the ruling of our religion, in which no believer who holds fast to its rope has any doubt.

Can we—while we are in this state of division and submission to injustice—claim to be fulfilling the obligations of our religion? How can we, when most of the religious rulings are dependent on the strength of the legitimate authority? If harmony and the desire for dominance were not obligations in themselves, would they not at least be things without which the obligation cannot be fulfilled? How so, when they are two pillars upon which the Sharia was established, as we have already presented?

Will we have any excuse on the Day of Judgment and the Day of Reckoning, when no friend will benefit and no intercession will be accepted, after we have demolished these two pillars? The easiest thing for us to establish is this, while our numbers are five hundred million or more. Is it not easy for us, if we are guided by the light of truth, to realize what we have been negligent about, and to reflect on the disasters that have befallen our regions and lowered our stature—what drove the arrows and afflictions of our enemies among us? It was only our division, our mutual aversion, and the cutting of ties that God and His Prophet forbade.

If we had fulfilled the rights demanded by that word which our tongues utter and our hearts find peace in—the word of God, the Most

High—would the enemies have been able to divide our unity and tear apart our community? Would the sword of aggression have flashed in our faces? Would we have seen the fires of our enemies unless our feet were in their fortresses and our hands on their forelocks? The sons of the Islamic nation have certainty in what their Sharia has brought. Does the certainty of their conviction prevent them from doing what God has obligated in that religion? “Do the people think that they will be left to say, 'We believe' and they will not be tested? But We have certainly tested those before them, and Allah will surely make evident those who are truthful, and He will surely make evident the liars.” (Qur'an 29:2-3) The believer wishes to be made true by God, not a liar. And what truth does testing reveal, distinguishing the truthful from the liar, except truthfulness in action?

Does a Muslim wish to live a thousand years in humiliation and abasement, while knowing that disdain for life is the sign of faith? Are we—the believers—content, when we once held the highest word, to have humiliation and abasement struck upon us, and to have those who do not follow our path, nor share our belief, nor respect our Sharia, nor observe any bond or covenant with us, rule over our lands and wealth? Their greatest desire is to drive their armies of annihilation against us, to empty our lands of us and settle others in our place—people of their own religion, as they did to the Indians!

No! No! The sincere in faith, those who trust in God's promise of victory for those who support Him, as established in His saying: “If

you support Allah, He will support you and plant firmly your feet" (Qur'an 47:7), will not hesitate to spend their wealth and sell their lives. The truth calls, God judges, and necessity decrees. So where is the escape?

The one enlightened by the light of God knows that there is no way to victory except through harmony and mutual cooperation between the believers. Do we not see our banners lowered, our lands torn apart, and the die cast among foreigners over what remains in our hands—yet we do not move, nor gather upon a single word, while claiming to believe in God and what Muhammad brought? How shameful if this thought even crosses our minds! I do not think it crosses the mind of a Muslim who utters the witness of Islam.

The desire for unity, the aspiration for sovereignty, and the sincere will to preserve the Islamic territory—all these qualities are latent in the souls of Muslims everywhere. However, they were stricken by what we have pointed out in previous issues, distracting them from what their religion inspires in their hearts. For a time, they were deaf to the voice of truth calling from within their own selves. They erred and were misled; they were stunned and lost, like a traveler at the crossroads of the deserts, surrounded by darkness, seeing a path but unable to find it. I see that if the true scholars were to direct their thought to bringing the voices of some Muslims to the ears of others, they could unite their desires in the shortest time. This is not difficult for them, especially since God has singled out His Sacred House, the

Ka'bah, for veneration, and has made the pilgrimage an obligation upon every Muslim who is able. In that place, God gathers men from all Muslim races, tribes, and nations. It is but a word said among them by someone of standing in their souls, and the ends of the earth would tremble and the still hearts would be stirred. This is what their religious beliefs have prepared for them. If you add to this what has melted their hearts—the encroachments of foreigners upon them, and what has tightened their chests from the raids of strangers on their lands, until their souls have reached their collarbones—then you would think that the readiness in the souls of Muslims has reached the point of action. This is what supports those who strive for this purpose, and prepares for them immediate success, with the help of God, Whose seeker never fails. He is my Lord, to Him I call, and to Him I return.

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Chapter Eleven: Hope

“And who despairs of the mercy of his Lord except the astray?”
(Qur'an 15:56)

These are the verses of the Wise Book, revealing a great secret. God has singled out man with it, elevating him above all other beings, so that he may reach the praiseworthy station and obtain what Divine care has prepared for him of the perfection befitting him. Reflect upon yourself, and listen to the whisper of your inner being. You will find in your very nature a powerful inclination and an intense eagerness, driving you to seek glory and a high station in the hearts of your fellow people. Then raise your gaze to the vastness of a nation, whose individuals, if you were to ask them about their true desires, would reveal to you a hidden passion—something within them that moves them to seek this great goal.

But notice, this inclination is not an easy path for the seeker of glory and high station to reach what he seeks. He will encounter rugged paths and obstacles that bar his way. Yet, despite this, his eagerness does not weaken, nor does his inclination decrease. He cuts through the mountain passes and endures hardships until he scales the peak of glory and breathes the air of the highest honour. If a barrier stands in his way, preventing him from continuing his path, and he is forced to stop, you see him restless, as if he were writhing on burning sand. If a wise, discerning thinker examines the works of mankind and attributes each action to the goal of the doer, he would find that most of them are in pursuit of honour and high station—each according to his rank. What relates to the improvement of livelihood is hardly worth mentioning compared to what relates to matters of honour.

This is a fixed trait in all people of every nation, across all classes—from the artisans to the rulers. Each competes with his peers in the means of prestige among them; he disdains his low position among them, and is eager for what raises him in their hearts to a place of consideration. When he reaches the limit of what brings him honour among them, he transcends the boundaries of that class and enters another, competing with its people for status. He continues this path as long as he lives and walks upon the earth. This is because human perfection has no limit, nor is it bounded by an end. No person can convince himself that he has reached a degree of perfection beyond which there is no further goal.

Glory be to God! How has the love of honour taken hold of the human heart, and how has it dominated his desires? He considers it the fruit of his life and the very purpose of his existence, to the point that he scorns life itself when he loses it or is unable to attain it, or when he fears its loss. Do you not see a poor man in rags, whom no one notices, yet if someone were to wrong him with an insult or a dishonourable word, anger overcomes him to defend his lowly station, and he risks what might lead to death? And how many people, of different classes and races, have cast themselves into destruction and died defending their honour or seeking glory and renown? Glorious is God!

Man cannot enjoy food or drink, nor find comfort in his bed, unless he perceives that what he has attained is greater than what others have

attained, and that those around him acknowledge his superiority in it. It is as if the pleasures of nourishment and reproduction were placed only as a means to the pleasure of boasting and vainglory. So what do you think of other pleasures? How much physical fatigue does man endure? How many hardships of travel does he bear? How many risks does he take in braving the seas and facing dangers? How much does he neglect pleasures, despite his capacity for them—all of this to gain fame, or to earn glory, or to preserve what God has given him of it?

How great is God's care for man's inclination to honour! He shares it with the world, and every worldly pleasure and profit is merely a means to it. Indeed, worldly life is the rugged path by which man journeys to what he can of glory. At the end of his term, he departs from it with a contented eye for what he has attained, and a regretful heart for what he has fallen short of.

What is this glory that man seeks by divine inspiration, for which he braves dangers and endures hardships in its pursuit? It is the regard of the souls of his kind for its possessor, and their admission of his superiority; it is the submission of their reins to him. This belongs to him, and to all who enter into his lineage—his relatives, his tribe, and his entire nation. His word and the word of those connected to him are carried out in the affairs of others. This is the greatest reward from the Almighty, the All-Wise, for enduring hardships to attain that high station in this first life. What is gained by the individual of the nation is a blessing from the Governor of the universe, whose goodness

overflows to his entire nation. Indeed, this is a profound wisdom: when one individual of the nation attains his desired glory, the nation attains its share of authority. Yes, but did he attain it except with the help of his brethren? That is the decree of the Almighty, the All-Knowing.

What can one warrior achieve alone, and what can his striving earn him, if he has no supporters from his own tribe? Whoever's ambition is to ascend to the throne of might and rise to the peak of sovereignty must prepare himself and his people to acquire everything that is counted as virtue and perfection in the human world. How difficult it is to serve this natural inclination and divine inspiration! And how great is the helper for those who undertake it! The goal drives away hesitation from the mind, shows the path to the bewildered, and makes the rough smooth. It consoles them for all pains, and satisfies them with risking death and leaving life itself—let alone spending every precious thing and sacrificing every dear one.

This great motive, this powerful impetus, is hope. Hope is a radiant light in the darkness of crises, a skilled guide in the deserts of calamities, a guiding flag in the unknowns of problems, and a ruling authority over resolves when they falter, and a stimulator of ambitions when they weaken. Hope is the one that makes man bear hardships, one after another, and face the night of adversity with courage. It makes him delight in his sleeplessness on the bed of suffering, and in the remoteness of what he desires, as if he were seeking to change

God's way in the course of human life by obtaining what he craves without effort or hardship. Rather, hope is a desire followed by action, accompanied by the soul's endurance of hardship and its training in suffering and exertion. It accustoms the soul to facing calamities with patience and encountering disasters with fortitude, making every difficulty seem easy in the pursuit of life's ultimate goals. It becomes ingrained in its perceptions that life is nothing but a single breath, and that man is the first step towards a goal, seeking, through the means of action, to preserve the building of life from the shocks of the universe.

Just as the inclination towards honour is instinctive, so too is hope and the confidence of the soul in reaching its goal—they are among the deposits of human nature. However, their firmness in the nature of all humans was the cause of competition and conflict. For each one, by virtue of what is instilled in his constitution, seeks honour and influence in the heart of the other—so each is a seeker and a sought. Human reason has not yet reached the level of assigning to each individual a work by which he would have a high station in all souls, without another having a similar station, so that all would be glorious and honourable through their deeds. But they have competed in hopes and desires, and their paths are narrow and their avenues are tight. Thus, these resistances and collisions arose among humanity—a wisdom from God to know those who strive and to know the patient.

If conflict continues against a person or a people, weakness occurs in their ambitions, and they are afflicted with decline. Corruption takes

hold of these two noble qualities—hope and the pursuit of glory—just as corruption occurs in other virtues due to bad upbringing. Perhaps the weakness leads to despair and resignation—God forbid. What would be the state of those who have despaired and whose hopes have been cut off? They judge themselves with humiliation, and record upon themselves incapacity for any elevation. They commit base acts, engage in vices, and do not shrink from humiliation and contempt. Rather, they accustom themselves to accepting whatever is directed at them, until all the human feelings and sensations that distinguish man from cattle are stripped from them. They become content with what cattle are content with, caring only for the needs of their bellies and their lusts. Then, would that they were simply free-roaming animals, grazing on plants and following the rain! But even though they have abandoned justice, they are forced to serve and are subjugated to the work of others by compulsion. They become like worker ants, who do not benefit from what they carry; their function is to strive and toil so that others may be happy and rest. They labour in agriculture, industry, and other hard works, working harder than one who works for himself. Then they receive nothing of what they produce. The fruits of their earning are entirely transferred to those who have dominated them through their ambition. This is what the humiliated one endures, in his humiliation, of hard labour and suffering, so that the strong, who are masters over him, may enjoy their share of it.

Indeed, the station of those who have despaired, in the eyes of those who dominate them, becomes lower than that of working animals. For the masters feel—by the judgment of innate reason—that these have

lowered themselves below the station they were entitled to by virtue of human nature, and have consented to what is less than their right, indeed, to what is not fitting for their nature. They have denied God's blessing in their creation and the deposit He placed in human individuals. So their masters treat them as they would not treat the animals they own. We have a witness to this in the nations that have been overtaken by despair and have fallen into the hands of foreigners. We think there are other peoples whom their masters have humiliated in the past—and they are humiliating them now—with what even grazing cattle are not subjected to, and they are near us, not far from us.

How strange it is that the laws of nature can be changed, and the effects of innate disposition can be erased! How can the soul descend so low that it no longer seeks elevation, and despair so that it has no hope, while hope and the love of honour are natural to man?

After deep reflection, we find the cause of this to be man's belief that all his actions arise from his own power and will independently, and that his strength is the sovereign of his works, with no higher hand to aid him or repel him. When obstacles confront him, once and again, cutting off his path to his goal, he turns to his power and finds it feeble, and his strength sees it as weak. He acknowledges his weakness and submits to his incapacity. He despairs and is filled with resignation. He is humiliated and sinks low, believing that there is no way to repel these obstacles that defy his power. When the power of

the obstacle is greater than his own, there is no way to act, for the obstacle cannot be overcome. So he cuts off hope and falls into eternal misery.

However, if he were certain that this universe has a Mighty Manager, to Whose greatness every power submits, and to Whose supreme sovereignty every force yields, and that this Mighty, Powerful Being holds the reins of His kingdom and directs His servants as He wills—with this certainty, despair could never dominate him, nor could the calamity of resignation consume his hopes. For the one with certainty, when he looks at his own weakness, he does not fail to look at the power of God, which is above all power. He relies upon it in his actions, and finds no path for despair to reach his soul. Every time hardships become great upon him, his determination increases in repelling them, relying on the fact that God's power is greater than them. Every time a door is closed in his face, doors of hope open for him through his reliance on God. He does not tire nor become weary, nor is he overcome by boredom, because he believes that the Manager of the universe has the power to subdue the mighty, to cast their reins to the weak, to level mountains, to split seas, and to give the weak power over the forelocks of the strong. How many of God's power's effects have there been! So his resolve strengthens, and he persists in what God has commanded him of striving for perfection and winning what God has prepared for him of happiness in this life and the next. It is impossible for one who has certainty in God, His power, His might, and His sovereignty to despair or lose hope. For this reason, God, the Most Truthful of speakers, informed us of the reality and truth, saying:

“Indeed, no one despairs of the relief of Allah except the disbelieving people” (Qur'an 12:87). And He related from his Prophet Abraham (peace be upon him): “And who despairs of the mercy of his Lord except the astray?” (Qur'an 15:56). Who then carries the burden of despair and resignation? Despair and resignation are traits of disbelief. How can despair approach a heart that has been bound by faith in God and His perfect power?

For this reason, we say: The certainty of the Muslims in God and in what Muhammad (peace be upon him) brought does not permit them to despair of their Lord's mercy in restoring their glory, given their great numbers. Nor does their faith allow them to be negligent or to forgo action. “And Allah does not burden a soul beyond its capacity” (Qur'an 2:286). They are still preserved from what has destroyed many other nations, for they still have great kings, and a great kingdom still remains in their hands on the face of the earth. It is right for us to say that the doors of God's mercy are open to them; they need only to enter them. The spirit of God is blowing upon them; they need only to inhale it. Opportunities always extend their hands to them, calling them to rise, awakening their heedless, and rousing their sleeping. To regain their former station and ascend to their first rank, they need only to unite their word and cooperate in what they seek for the honour of their nation. This is the easiest thing for them, after the firm establishment of the religious bond among them. So what cause is there for despair? What reason for resignation, when they have in their hands the Book of God, which guides to the clearest paths of success? “For what, after truth, is there but error?” (Qur'an 10:32) Will those

who despair among them have any excuse? Will they be content with servitude to foreigners after that supreme sovereignty? What do they seek from life if it is to be lived in humiliation, poverty, misery, and perpetual hardship at the hands of a harsh enemy? Can they be at ease while they are between a foreign ruler, a gloating enemy, a despicable oppressor, a base tyrant, and a vile scorner—who accuse them of weak minds and deficient ability, and judge that it is impossible for them to become a nation counted among the nations?

Have they not stripped themselves of every human characteristic? How can they be content with a life surrounded by all these disasters and troubles? Have they forgotten that they were the highest in the land, and that it was not so long ago? Their histories have not been erased, their traces have not been obliterated, and the might of the Muslims has not entirely vanished from the face of the earth. If the common people have an excuse for their heedlessness of what God has obligated upon them, what excuse is there for the scholars, the guardians of the Sharia and the deeply rooted in its sciences? Why do they not strive to unite the scattered Muslims? Why do they not exert their effort to gather their community? Why do they not spend their capacity to reform what is corrupted among them? Why do they not come with all that is in their power to strengthen the hopes of the Muslims, to remind them of God's promises that never fail for those who are truthful in their obedience and certainty in Him, and to give them glad tidings of the blowing of God's spirit upon their souls?

Yes, there are people whose hearts God has opened to faith; they have undertaken this matter in different locations on earth, with a bond of communication between them. But our hope is in the rest of the Muslims that they will agree with them and support them, so that all may be able to achieve the victory of God: “If you support Allah, He will support you and plant firmly your feet.” (Qur'an 47:7)

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Chapter Twelve: Men of the State, the King's Confidants, and How They Should Be

“O you who have believed, do not take as intimates those other than yourselves, for they will not spare you any ruin. They wish you hardship. Hatred has already appeared from their mouths, and what their breasts conceal is greater. We have certainly made clear to you the signs, if you will use reason.” (Qur'an 3:118)

They say: Nations are protected and kingdoms are guarded by fortified towers, impenetrable fortresses, active armies, abundant wealth, and excellent weapons. We say: Yes, these are defences and tools that are indispensable for protecting the country. But they do not act by

themselves, nor can they be of any use unless they are operated by men of experience, sound judgment, and wisdom—men who attend to them with reform in times of peace, and use them for their intended purpose in times of war. It is not enough, however, for such men to merely possess prudence, determination, skill, and knowledge to manage the various affairs of the kingdom, to pave the way for security, to spread the carpet of comfort, to build the structure of kingship on the foundations of justice, and to keep the subjects within the bounds of the Sharia. They must also monitor the kingdom's relations with other foreign states to preserve for it the status it deserves among them, and indeed, to carry it on the wings of sound politics to the highest station possible for it.

They will not be worthy of undertaking these lofty affairs unless their hearts overflow with love for the country, and are filled with mercy and compassion for its inhabitants, and unless zeal is deeply rooted in their souls, taking hold of their natures. They must feel within themselves a strong motivator for what is due, a restrainer from what is unbecoming, and a deep, painful sense of grief when the state's interest is harmed or when danger threatens it. Only with this feeling and these qualities can they perform the duties of their positions as they should, and preserve them from the flaws that a small part of which might lead to great corruption in the kingdom. It is these men, with these qualities, who are the true protective might and the dominant force.

It is easy for a ruler in any tribe to write decrees, gather soldiers, and amass numbers of all kinds by spending money and bearing expenses. But from where can he obtain a bāṭinah (inner circle) of the kind we have described—wise, merciful, proud, and pure—whose concern for the kingdom's needs is as great as their concern for their own life's necessities? In this serious matter, one must follow the law of nature and observe the order of the universe. Following this order preserves thought from error and reveals to it the subtlest points. The one who takes it as a guide and makes it his guide rarely errs in his opinion or deviates in his work. If the wise person looks at the types of errors that have occurred in the human world, both general and particular, and seeks their causes, he will find no cause other than deviating from the law of nature and straying from the way of God in His creation.

One of the rulings of this established order is that compassion, mercy, zeal, and fervour for the king and the subjects are found only in those who have a deep-rooted origin in the nation, and a strong bond that connects them to it. This is the nature that God has instilled in people. The one who is connected to the nation through ties of race or creed takes care of his relationship to it and its relationship to him. He sees it as inseparable from his own private relationships, and he defends it against injustice as he would defend his own territory and sanctuary. (Consult your own experience; you will see this often, even among the common people. When someone attacks the people of another country or their religion in a general way, like a Syrian criticising Egyptians, or an Egyptian criticising Syrians, you see the reaction.) This is in addition to what every individual of the nation knows: that whatever

benefits the nation brings him a share of it, and whatever afflicts it strikes him with a share of it. Especially if he holds the highest affairs of the state in his hands and has the reins of authority, his share of the benefit is greater, and his affliction from harm is greater, and his share of the shame that befalls the nation is greater. Therefore, his concern for the affairs of the nation to which he belongs, and his zeal for its safety, is proportionate to what he hopes for of benefit or fears of harm.

Therefore, the ruler of the state should not entrust any of its work to anyone except one of two types of men:

1. A man connected to him through a nationality that is sound, free from weakness and fragmentation, respected in the souls of those included in it, and honoured in their hearts. Their respect and honour for it would make them devote themselves to protecting it from any shame that might touch it, and the bonds of this nationality have not been weakened by differences in creed and religion.
2. Or a man who shares with him a religion whose bond has taken the place of nationality—indeed, whose position in the hearts surpasses that of nationality. This is like the Islamic religion, which, for Muslims, despite the diversity of their peoples, has taken the place of every bond of lineage.

Each of these two bonds—nationality on the one hand, and religion on the other—is a source of zeal for the king and a wellspring of protectiveness over him. As for the foreigners who are not connected to the ruler through race or through a religion whose bond is equivalent to race, their example in the kingdom is like that of a hired labourer building a house. He only cares about receiving his wage; he does not care whether the house is safe, damaged by floods, or destroyed by earthquakes. This is the case if they are truthful in their work; they will perform it only to the extent of their payment, stopping at the outward form. For none of them is honoured by the honour of the nation he serves, nor is he harmed by any humiliation that befalls it, because he is separate from it. If he loses his livelihood there, he leaves it and returns to his own origin. Indeed, while he is working and serving a race other than his own, he remains attached to his own origin in all his affairs, except for the wage he takes. This is known by the mere dictate of reason. He finds nothing in his nature or in his heart's thoughts to make him extremely cautious about what might corrupt the kingdom, nor excessively eager for what might elevate its status. Rather, he finds no motive to think about what would reform its interests in any way.

This is their condition, dictated by nature, if their intentions were pure and they had no ulterior motives. But what if they had personal ambitions and private grudges, or if they had fled their own countries to escape poverty and destitution, and had come to another land seeking a livelihood by any means? It would be all the same to them whether they were truthful or lying, whether they fulfilled their trust or

betrayed it, whether they respected the covenant or violated it. Even if, with all this, they were serving the purposes of their own nations, paving the way for their sovereignty and dominance over the Eastern lands—as is the case of many in the Islamic lands—they would find in themselves no motive for truthfulness and trustworthiness, but rather a motive for deception, betrayal, and striving to implement the political designs of their own countries by any means, hoping for reward and promotion from them.

Whoever looks at the facts of this matter and observes the way of God in His creation and His management of the affairs of His servants, will see that the growth and expansion of states have never been preserved except by men from within them who know their rights as they know their own. Whatever work was entrusted to others without trust, and whenever the foreign element rose to high positions in its affairs, that was a sign of ruin and destruction for that state—especially if there existed between the foreigners and the state they served the resentments and hatreds that have long been mixed with their blood and ingrained in their very nature.

Yes, just as corruption can occur in some moral and natural qualities due to external factors, so too can weakness and laziness occur in the zeal of the sons of the nation and the religion, and a deficiency can appear in their compassion and mercy. This diminishes the concern of the great men among them for the interests of the kingdom, if the ruler does not appreciate them as they deserve. In this situation, they may

place their private interests above their public duties, and flaws may appear in the nation's system, and corruption may strike. However, the harm from this is lighter and easier to remedy than the harm caused by foreigners assuming the highest positions in the country. For the one bonded to the nation, even if his morals are diseased and his qualities are ailing, what nature has deposited and ingrained in his constitution cannot be completely erased. If he does wrong once, the caller of his religious or national bond within himself will disturb him, and he will return to the truth. The bonds of religion or race, however weakened, still pull him from time to time to observe them and pay attention to them, and incline him towards those connected to him by those ties, even if they are distant.

For this reason, we have the right to deeply regret the situation of the Eastern princes, and especially the Ottoman princes, who have taken foreigners as their confidants and trusted them with their affairs, rule, and administration. Indeed, they have even exceeded that, showing loyalty to foreigners and trusting them to the point of entrusting them with their private services within their own homes. They have almost relinquished their own kingdoms to them, after having seen their cunning for a long time, and the hatred and enmity rooted in them for generations. Experience has taught them that if they trust them, they betray them; if they honour them, they humiliate them; they meet good with evil, and veneration with contempt; they repay protection with betrayal, intimacy with estrangement, and trust with deception.

Is it not time for the Eastern princes to submit to the laws of God that cannot be broken? Has the time not come for them to return to their own senses and feelings? Has the time not come for them to act upon what events have guided them to and what calamities and disasters have taught them? Has the time not come for them to stop destroying their own houses with their own hands and with the hands of their enemies?

O mighty princes! What do you have to do with foreigners who are not of you? You love them, but they do not love you. You have known their condition, and there is no doubt left in their matter. “If good touches you, it distresses them; but if harm strikes you, they rejoice at it.” (Qur'an 3:120) Hasten to your own countrymen and your brothers in religion and creed. Turn to them with some of what you turn to others with; you will find in them the best help and the best supporter. Follow God's way in what He has inspired you with and created you upon, just as He created all people. Observe His profound wisdom in what He has commanded and forbidden you, so that you do not go astray and error does not cast you into the lowest of the low. Have you not seen? Have you not known? Have you not felt? Have you not experienced? Until when? Until when? “To God we belong, and to Him we return!”

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Chapter Thirteen: How Great is God's Wisdom in the Love of True Praise

The human world is a book of reflection and a journey for the insightful. Every century of its ages is a page, and every generation of its people is a line or a sentence within it. In everything that the Divine Pen has inscribed, there is a lesson for us. The first thing that reflection upon it benefits us with is understanding the conditions of peoples in their various stages and eras. Some of them achieved the highest stations of glory, then, after this, they declined, degenerated, and their remnants decayed, leaving no trace except in narratives and traditions. Among them are generations that were in the folds of non-existence, then donned the adornment of existence, and took from human society the place of the head of the body, then they folded and were buried under the wombs of ages. Among them are those we see today, dragging the trains of glory and overseeing the world with command and prohibition from the peaks of power.

Some people observe these affairs and those conditions as if they were viewing statues—delighted by some if they admire them, and repulsed by others if they reject them, yet heedless of the origin of their emergence and the causes of their transformation. If asked about the cause, they say: "Glory be to God! Thus it was, and thus it will be. It is merely luck; it brings fortune to the fortunate, and misfortune to the wretched." But among them are those whose insight penetrates to the

truth. They grasp the causes that God has prepared, which are followed by the states of nations in their rise and fall. They know that whatever good has been granted to a nation was brought about by the hands of individuals like them who strove and struggled, and by what they sacrificed of their precious possessions and themselves, they earned the establishment of glory for their peoples and their kindred. They see for those great figures a remembrance that is raised, a station in hearts that is praised, and a distinction among successors with honour. They did not differ from others in their bodies and blood, but rather surpassed them through their ambitions. Reflection may lead them to emulate them, desiring to reap the fruits of praise and to immortalise remembrance. When they take their path and stand on their way, they will hardly take a few steps before their feet stumble upon severed hands, severed heads, scattered limbs, dishevelled hair, and shattered chests. They will see the road marked by the graves of the martyrs—seekers of truth and followers of its path—and there is no escape from traversing it. Forests and thickets will appear to them, from which the echoes of roaring lions and the growls of beasts return to them, and they must penetrate them. Thus, for the seeker of high stations, terrifying, astonishing wastelands are unveiled, and the dangers of risks are near, with noble death as their furthest and highest point. Sometimes his resolve weakens and his ambition fades, so he retreats on his heels and returns to the worst of his states, grazing in the pastures of his likes until he returns to his first resting place—which is non-existence. At other times, divine inspiration guides him that the individual, in his particularity, the nations in their entities, and the human species in its entirety are called upon by the image of creation to noble works, which require the exertion of souls in striving, bearing what they do not desire, and overcoming terrors

and dangers. What God has placed in man of high powers and noble qualities is the greatest help for what ambition drives towards and determination strives for.

Whoever God has enlivened with human life, whenever difficulties assail him, he only increases in eagerness to overcome them, just as the one of noble character is only increased in argument by debate, and in persistence to convince his opponent. Many of those in human form live their lives with the spirit of another animal, suffering in it a misery worse than what man suffers in manifesting his human merits. The climber of a mountain may find some fatigue and fear the predators' prey, but he may be saved by the swiftness of his escape, and he seeks refuge in his high place, where the hand of the attacker falls short. But as for the one who descends to the lowest place, he is exposed to humiliation and constant apprehension; every moment threatens him with falling into the hunter's snare and between the fangs of the predator. There are many who sought high stations and did not attain them, and many of the seekers reached what they hoped for, but perished by attack—many more than these and those who chose obscurity and were content with the animalistic life. These are the discourses of truth and the inspirations of the pure spirit, urging those whom God has guided and granted the blessing of intellect to continue their journey and follow the path of those who came before, towards the noblest goals. Either they will reach it, or they will die as the noble die.

If nations had not been guided by religion to what directs them to the paths of action, they would not have attained the sciences, knowledge, literature, virtues, just laws, or the strength and means of protection that lead them to the high stations of development and the loftiest degrees of progress, enabling them to raise their nations to the furthest limits that their ambitions could reach, all while relying on divine care in all their journeys.

What does the law want in the service of nations or humanity, if those who expend their lives in arduous works, the benefit of which returns to those bound to them by the bond of nation, creed, or shared humanity, cannot expect reward? Has God not made everything a cause for something? Is it not God's way with His servants that the human will, which leads to movement, does not arise from the one who wills except after he has conceived a goal that returns to his own self, and after certainty or a preponderant belief that he will benefit from the goal of the work? For the entire term is spent in enduring spiritual pains, and life is consumed in struggling against physical hardships. So what do they intend by their works? If among their countrymen and co-religionists there are those who help the events of the universe to cause them pain, to prevent them from their goals, to bar them from striving in what would return good to the opponents themselves, and to deepen in them the wounds of blame, reproach, gloating, and vilification; or if they oppose them with struggle and confrontation—then what do they seek from their toil and effort? No pleasure is gained, and no pain is avoided. So what is this powerful

motive that has overcome desires and has not been weakened by the fatigue of affliction?

Yes, God has placed in man an inclination stronger than any other inclination, and it is his most specific characteristic, distinguishing him from all other species: the love of true praise and good remembrance from truthful sources. I say this, and you must understand with me the true meaning of praise, not the seeking of position and status, nor hypocrisy and showing off with the appearances of the good while concealing the consciences of the evil. For this is among the worst of traits, and it only appears after the corruption of nature and the depravity of character. Praise is the spiritual nourishment and the corrective of the soul. The closer a person gets to human perfection, the more he disdains worldly desires and scorns sensual pleasures, and the stronger in him becomes the inclination towards lasting praise. He sacrifices his effort in its pursuit, presenting his soul to the dangers of life, with the shorter term being the immediate, narrow life, and the longer term being its prolongation in the life of others. The end of the immediate life is death, and the other is beyond this, its end unknown, and its beginning is when a good deed emerges from him that benefits his nation or humanity in general. This is the immortality of the spirit. The generous soul has two existences: one in its own body, and another in all bodies. It is when it resides in every soul as a place of honour and veneration. There is no doubt that this long term and this broad existence are better than that short term and that barren existence. It is truly fitting for man to exchange what is inferior for what is better.

I will be brief, for the matter is long. God, who has granted every species its perfection, has placed in human nature this inclination towards praise, and inspired them to give it its due right. Do you not see the tongues of all people singing praises for everyone who was a cause for them in glory and elevation, or in rescuing from a fall, or in unifying a word, or in renewing a power, or in perfecting a virtue, or in advancing a science or a craft? They inscribe them on tablets, record their praise in the pages of history, and raise for them structures and statues. They preserve for them a good remembrance that is passed down by sons from fathers until they themselves perish and the world perishes. If a nation denies the right of its scholar to it, or is lacking in appreciating his work, ambitions weaken, effort for public interests decreases, hands are withheld from undertaking them, and the nation's affairs decline. This is because God—exalted is His majesty—has connected every event to a cause. If, for a nation, good and evil, the pure and the impure, virtue and vice, interest and corruption, become equal, and it loses the ability to distinguish, and it does not appreciate the works of the workers as they deserve, and does not acknowledge good, nor denounce evil, then its individuals are stripped of the inclination towards high virtues and perfections. This is a more severe calamity to it than the tyranny of the oppressors and the dominance of the dominant. The oppression of the oppressor does not last, and the dominance of the dominant does not hold, if the majority of the nation responds to good deeds with recognition and to virtue with praise. For there will always be those among it who will purchase this reward by saving and rescuing it. But the loss of this noble feeling

is like the disease of senility, which leads only to death and destruction.

If God has favoured His Prophet (peace be upon him) by saying: “And We raised high your remembrance” (Qur'an 94:4), and if He has urged the believers to glorify Him and praise His blessings, as He permitted it for His Prophet in His saying: “And of the blessing of your Lord, speak” (Qur'an 93:11), then know that nations that deny the value of high works and disdain the status of virtue have lost what gives them their integrity, their structure has collapsed, and they have disappeared as yesterday did. Verily, ingratitude is accompanied by the removal of blessings.

I can conclude my words here with a word of thanks to this pure group who, in this difficult time, have stepped forward, stood upon the edge of danger, and taken it upon themselves to strive for the unity of Muslims. We are delighted to see their numbers increasing every day. We ask God for the success of their works and the fulfilment of their purposes. He is the best Patron and the best Supporter.

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Chapter Fourteen: Honour

A word that diverse people call out, yet most of them are heedless of its true meaning. Some imagine that honour lies in the grandeur of buildings, the ornamentation of walls and chambers, the abundance of servants and retainers, the possession of fine horses, and the riding of carriages. Others imagine that honour lies in wearing luxurious clothes, adorning oneself with colourful garments and varieties of them, and embellishing oneself with precious jewellery. Others still imagine it lies in titles and ranks, such as being of the first class or the second, or in the famous decorations known as medals and orders. So much so that you see a man plunder his brother's wealth, rob his relatives and kin, or those of his nation and countrymen, to build a palace with his ill-gotten gains, to raise a structure and decorate it, and to establish guards for it from among those who are blinded by the fineness of its decoration. You see him doing all this, thinking that he has attained a degree of honour, and he does not know that the true honour is something else. You see another go to even greater extremes in earning his livelihood to dress in fine clothes and adorn himself with beautiful jewellery, or to have something with which he can boast to his peers, imagining that he has reached a degree of eminence that cannot be matched, and he expresses his condition with the word "honour," thinking he has grasped the reality of its meaning. Among them is a third who spends his nights and exhausts his days thinking of a way to obtain one of those titles, or to acquire a medal or a sash. It is all the same to him what means he uses, of whatever kind, even if they lead to the ruin of his country, the humiliation of his nation, or the

tearing apart of his creed. In his view, he has climbed to the peak of the meaning of honour.

Do you not see that these delusions are firmly established in the minds of many people? But do you not think that they have blinded the eye of truth in them, so that they are blind to their errors and their deviation from the truth in their delusions? What does the one who boasts of his palaces, his children, and his retainers find in himself? Does he not feel from himself that he is like a child playing with toys, except that he is grown in body and has reached the age of reason? Does he not know that all that he has built is alien to him, and has no connection to him except the effort he expended in acquiring it? Does he not see that many who have reached his level or surpassed him have been stripped by the vicissitudes of time of what they possessed, and have become, by their own qualities and their very essence, if they were not possessed of a share of human perfection, as if they were thrown into the lowest ranks, and they have no place in hearts and no station in souls? What does the one who boasts of his jewellery and his clothes feel when he is stripped of them and left alone with himself? If his own self possesses no adornment of virtue or decoration of perfection, would he not be the same as a naked pauper? Does he not find that when he boasts, he is simply playing in the same field as the singing girls and the veiled women? What does the one who is proud of his rank and delighted with his medal imagine? If before his decoration or his ascent to his rank he was not in a state of virtue or perfection that merited veneration, does he not feel that if the medal is removed or the sash is taken away, he would return to his

station of contempt? If he gains honour among some simple people while the title is attached to him, is that not merely the veneration of the title, not of the one who is titled? Would not this honour be a fleeting accident, indeed a mere outward form that does not touch the depths of hearts?

Yes, these noble titles have a status that elevates one's standing if they are preceded by a deed that the entire world acknowledges as honourable, and the title becomes a proof of it or an indication of it. They also have a state that degrades one's standing if they are preceded by an act that the wise of humanity abhor, and the medal or the title becomes a sign of what the bearer has earned and a mark of what he has committed.

Look and reflect, and you will not err, for you are not far from the truth. Osman the Ghazi, whom his enemies titled the "Lion of Plovdiv," attained his rank, was granted a title, and gained a high position among the highest class of the great men of his state, after he had offered his soul to death in defence of his creed and struggled to elevate the word of his religion, as was witnessed by friends and enemies alike. Some princes in an Islamic land have had noble titles conferred upon them by a state like England, as a reward for what they did in advancing before the armies of their enemies to open their own lands, until they enabled the English to enter their homes. All Muslims are now striving to find ways to expel them from their lands... Where is the place of a medal on the chest of Osman the Ghazi compared to

its place on the chests of those deceived ones? I think looking between the two positions will prove to you that the medal is honoured by the honour of the deed it is a sign of, and is degraded by its degradation.

What have those deluded ones, with all their differences, gained? Do they not know that the garments stained with blood, embroidered with gore, and coloured with the lifeblood of souls are what have preserved for their wearers a good remembrance that never ceases and a glorious legacy that is never erased? Those who dyed their garments with their blood in seeking glory for their creeds are those whose mention makes voices humble and whose virtue unites the thoughts of hearts. Has it not reached them that those who met their fate in the depths of wells and ended their lives in the darkness of prisons—seeking a usurped right or preserving an existing glory—are those whose mention has risen to the honour of the highest sun, and whose names have been elevated above all names? I think that those who were in lofty chambers, looking at their gardens and parks, and overlooking people from the balconies of their palaces, and confined their lives to enjoying what they had—their remembrance has not remained, and they had no significance in their lives, except what was confined to the circles of their homes. They are no different from those who used to drag the trains of luxury and acquire garments of silk and brocade; they have gone, and their garments have gone with them. They have returned to where they came from, not knowing when they came to the world or when they departed from it. Have we heard anyone among humanity mentioned for having received such-and-such a medal and obtained such-and-such a rank? No, rather they say: "He knew and he

acted, he gave and he spent, he raised and he lowered, he struggled and he fought, he annihilated and he preserved," and similar deeds that have a lasting effect. If Alexander the Great is mentioned, does anything come to mind about his food or his pleasure, or whether he was fond of the cloak of Qa'bus the First in his kingdom? Was his dress, his food, or his drink ever a subject of concern? Did the great ones of the world reach their high stations of honour after they had built, adorned, luxuriated, and enjoyed themselves? Or was all that they attained after they had dominated, conquered, overcome, and taken control? Some people have been deceived by dreams and deluded by illusions, so they neglected the affairs of their countries and sold their lofty glory for those names that have no real referent. They claimed—even though their consciences did not comply—that they had ascended to a station of honour, even if it was only for themselves, after knowing that ranks and decorations had exceeded their limits and had been obtained by those who were not worthy of them. If they had listened to what their consciences told them, and what the thoughts of their hearts incited them to do, and had looked with their eyes at what surrounded them, they would have known that they were in the lowest stations and the furthest from greatness. They would have realised their mistake in the meaning of honour and their deviation from the right path in seeking it. If they had felt what their homelands had been afflicted with and what had befallen them of humiliation and disgrace, they would have thrown aside the sashes, taken off the medals, put on mourning garments, and beaten their hands and feet, seeking true honour.

Honour is a reality defined by the religious laws and grasped by the minds of the perfect. No one of human nature can doubt its understanding except those whose hearts God has sealed and whose vision He has blinded. Honour is a radiance for the person, attracting glances and directing thoughts and ideas towards him. It is a beauty whose beauty pleases the inner sight and the eyes. The source of that radiance is a deed that the seeker performs, which has a good effect on his nation, his creed, or humanity in general—like rescuing from destruction, or revealing ignorance, or awakening to a usurped right, or reminding of a past glory and a stolen honour, or raising from a fall, or rousing from slumber, or guiding to a common good, or warning against a grievous evil, or disciplining morals, or educating minds, or uniting a word and renewing a bond, or restoring a power and rescuing from weakness, or igniting zeal, or stirring fervour.

Whoever performs a deed that has any of these effects is the honourable one, even if he lives in hovels and shacks, wears patched rags, subsists on wild plants, sleeps on the dust of poverty, rests his head on the rough ground, and wanders in every valley, between hills and lowlands. He has his adornment from his work, his ornament from his virtue, his radiance from his perfection, and his light from his effort, guiding the lost hearts and the bewildered minds. The sensitive feelings recognise him and do not deny him; the flights of hearts flutter around him and do not separate from him. He has, from his spirit, towering palaces, delightful chambers, beautiful views, dazzling beauty, and radiant light that is hardly hidden before it appears, and hardly concealed before it is seen. To him ascends the goodly word;

righteous deed raises it to the highest heights. A good life in hearts, and a glorious honour on the forehead of time. “And in that let the competitors compete.” (Qur'an 83:26)

Yes, the people of corrupt nature may attack him sometimes, slashing him with their tongues and shooting him with the arrows of blame. The flowers of his deeds and the lights of his merits do not please their sight, because they are far from their understanding and strange to their senses, accustomed as they are to immersion in those base, worthless things they have counted as honour and considered glory—as we have already clarified. Their example is like that of the dung beetle, which flees from the scent of the rose and is accustomed to the smells of filth. It is not unlikely that people of no morals might mock the virtuous worker, or that those with no conscience might seek to harm him. But they harm only themselves, and they damage only their own interests. They will not continue long in this blindness. On the contrary, it will not be long before the sweet fruit appears, and they will rush to pick it, and they will eat from its produce. Then, they will have no choice but to thank the planter of the tree and the preserver of the fruit, even if he is beneath them in those adornments that have no value in the eyes of the wise. Their punishment for what they have done will be regret for the sin and grief for the misdeed, and a constant pain in their hearts, stirred by the remembrance of their evil deeds and the revelation of their own deficiency. Thus, divine care grants this honour to the doer of the noble deed as long as he lives. When his sun sets from the horizon of this world, the rays of his light that he poured upon guiding stars and luminous planets are not obscured. Indeed, he

dies and is hidden behind the veil of non-existence in his body, but he lives in the hearts, is a witness on the tongues, alive and provided for by his Lord—what a blessed life his life is! For such, let the workers work. (Qur'an 37:61)

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Chapter Fifteen: The Nation and the Authority of Despotic Rule

“And Allah did not wrong them, but they wronged themselves.” (Qur'an 9:70)

A nation that has no say in its affairs, is not consulted in its interests, and has no effect of its will in its public benefits, but is merely subject to a single ruler whose will is law, whose desire is the system—he rules as he wishes and does as he wills—such a nation does not remain in a stable condition, nor does it have a consistent course. It is visited by happiness and misery, knowledge and ignorance, wealth and poverty, honour and humiliation, alternating upon it. All that befalls it, both good and evil, is dependent on the condition of its ruler. If its ruler is learned, resolute, firm in opinion, high in ambition, lofty in

purpose, and upright in nature, he will govern the nation with justice, raise in it the banner of knowledge, pave for it the paths of prosperity and wealth, open for it the doors of progress in all the requirements of life, instil in the individuals of the subjects the spirit of honour and pride, make them adorn themselves with noble qualities like courage, magnanimity, the rejection of injustice, and disdain for humiliation. He will raise them to a high station of honour, smooth for them the paths of comfort and luxury, and advance them in every direction of good.

But if its ruler is ignorant, evil-natured, low in ambition, greedy, lustful, cowardly, weak in opinion, foolish in mind, base in soul, and crooked in nature, he will cast the nation, through his conduct, into the abyss of ruin. He will blind its vision with the veils of ignorance, bring upon it the calamity of poverty, deviate in his authority from the path of justice, open doors for aggression, so that the strong dominates the rights of the weak, order becomes chaotic, morals are corrupted, the word is lowered, and despair prevails. Then the eyes of the greedy turn towards it, and the conquering states strike their claws into its very entrails.

At that point, if there is any life left in the nation and a remnant of it remains, and God wills good for it, the men of opinion and the people of ambition from its individuals gather and cooperate to uproot this evil tree, to extirpate its roots before the winds spread its seeds and its poisonous, lethal parts among the entire nation, killing it and cutting

off the hope of treatment. They hasten to cut off this gangrenous limb before its corruption spreads to the whole body and tears it apart. They plant for themselves a good tree, whose root is firm and whose branch is in the sky. They renew for themselves a sound structure, free from defects—they exchange the evil for the good.

But if the nation has fallen below this degree, and has left its affairs in the hands of the oppressive, foreign ruler, directing it as he wishes, then it will taste the bitterness of servitude, the pains of humiliation, and the ignominy of abasement among the nations, as a recompense for what it has neglected and as a result of its own injustices. Your Lord is not unjust to His servants.

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Chapter Sixteen: The Call to the Persians to Unite with the Afghans

“If God wills good for a people, He unites their word.”

We are pleased by the sincerity of the Persian newspapers in serving their homelands and their moderation in their views. We are even more pleased by their interest in translating some of the important chapters of our newspaper and conveying them into the sweet Persian tongue, where they think it will awaken the thoughts of Muslims and guide their minds to what is good for them. To them, and to every sincere lover of his creed, we offer our fullest thanks, especially to the newspaper Ittila' (Information), which is printed in the city of Tehran. This upright approach is one by which the benefit is generalised across all Islamic regions. For all of them, besides the Arabs, although the languages of their inhabitants differ according to their peoples, they all speak the Persian language. It is in the East like the French language in the West. It would be our wish that they would strengthen our ideas with what their sound minds produce, their pure intellects offer, and their high reason guides them to—especially regarding the call to Islamic unity and the revival of the religious bond between Muslims, particularly the agreement between the Iranians and the Afghans.

These two groups are two branches of a single tree, and two offshoots that trace back to one root, which is the ancient Persian root. Their connection is further strengthened by their shared adherence to the true Islamic faith. There exists between them only a type of minor difference, which does not call for breaking the stick or tearing the fabric of unity. It is not permissible, in sound minds, for such a slight difference to be a cause for severing ties. It is not far from the ambitions of the Iranians and their high-mindedness that they be the first to undertake the renewal of Islamic unity and the strengthening of

religious ties, just as they were in the early days of Islam in spreading its sciences and preserving its laws, and as they excelled in serving the noble Prophet and his family.

Yes, Al-Bukhari, Muslim, Al-Nisaburi, Al-Nasa'i, Al-Tirmidhi, Ibn Majah, Abu Dawud, Al-Baghawi, Abu Ja'far al-Balkhi, Al-Kulayni, and others—all of whom were produced by the lands of Iran—as well as Abu Bakr al-Razi, the famous physician, and Imam Fakhr al-Din al-Razi, who were raised in Tehran; Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, the Proof of Islam; Abu Ishaq al-Isfarayini, al-Baydawi, Khwajah Nasir al-Din al-Tusi, al-Abhari, 'Adud al-Din al-Iji, and others among the scholars of theology and jurisprudence, whom the lands of Persia boast of and who are a source of pride for Muslims; the famous philosopher Abu 'Ali ibn Sina, Shihab al-Din al-Maqtul, and others of their kind, who were formed from the soil of Persia.

The people of Persia were among the foremost in serving the Arabic tongue, codifying its rules, and establishing its arts. Among them were: Sibawayh, Abu 'Ali al-Farisi, al-Radi, 'Abd al-Qahir al-Jurjani (the founder of the sciences of eloquence to explain the inimitability of the Qur'an and to understand its subtleties to the extent of human capacity), the author of the Sihah (al-Jawhari) who came from one of their villages, Majd al-Din al-Firuzabadi from one of their towns, al-Zamakhshari, al-Sakkaki, Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani, Badi' al-Zaman al-Hamadhani, and others who clarified the subtleties of the Qur'an and established the landmarks of religion—all of them from the land

of Persia. Al-Tabari, the first historian; al-Istakhri; and al-Qazwini, the first geographers, were in the lands of Persia. Al-Shibli was from Nahawand; Abu Yazid al-Bistami was from Bistam; and al-Ustadh al-Harawi, the true teacher of Sheikh Muhyi al-Din ibn al-'Arabi, was from Herat—all of them lands of Iran. Does one forget Sadr al-Shari'ah, Fakhr al-Islam al-Bazdawi, al-Amidi, al-Marghinani, al-Sarakhsi, al-Taftazani, al-Sharif al-Jurjani, al-Antaki? All of them were sons of Persia. From where was Qutb al-Din al-Shirazi, and Sadr al-Din al-Shirazi, and the head of wisdom among the later ones, Mir Baqir al-Damad, and Mir Fandarski, and others? They were all from the people of Persia. What virtue was there that they did not have the upper hand in? What excellence did God bestow upon Islam that they were not among the foremost in acquiring it? Yes, and among them was the saying of the Prophet (peace be upon him): “If knowledge were suspended in the Pleiades, men from Persia would reach it.”

O Persians! Remember your services to knowledge, look at your legacies in Islam, and be a pillar for religious unity, just as you were a bulwark for the early Islamic establishment. You are, by your precedence, the most deserving of people to strive for the restoration of what was yours in the youth of Islam. You are the most worthy of Muslims to lay the foundation of Islamic unity. That is not far from your noble elements and the strength of your resolves. I think it is not hidden from you that this time is the best of times for your call for unity with the Afghans and alliance with them to resist the enemies, so that by uniting with them you become a fortified fortress and an impenetrable barrier, behind which the feet of the greedy are stopped.

I think you have not forgotten that the English takeover of the Indian kingdoms was only achieved by sowing discord between you and the Afghans. Is it hidden from you that every Muslim in India is fixing his gaze towards Punjab, awaiting your coming if you unite with your Afghan brothers?

You have had many experiences, and you have witnessed from the manifestations of events what contains the most complete lesson. Is it right, after this, for you to continue in coldness and estrangement, while you know that unity is the source of might? This is the time for brotherhood and harmony. These are the times of alliance and mutual trust. Enemies have surrounded your lands: East and West. Each is sharpening his sword and aiming his arrow, until the opportunity allows him to launch a raid on the borders of your lands. If the opportunity is lost in this time, perhaps you will not find it again. The English are in great confusion over the Egyptian question, with their weakness in military power, and they are entangled in the disagreement of the states with them and their opposition to their purposes. Amir 'Abd al-Rahman Khan, the Amir of Afghanistan, is, as we have known him since his early youth, the most hostile of people to the English. Between him and them are grievances that will not be removed. Indeed, we say: The enmity to the English runs in the veins of the Afghans in general, mixed with their blood. If agreement is now achieved between the Sultanate of the Shah and the Emirate of Afghanistan, a new Islamic power will arise in the East among the other Islamic communities. A new life will spring up in them and in

the rest of the Muslims, and great hopes will be renewed for them, and the souls of the believers will be revived by that.

This is a time when the thoughts of the Afghans have been awakened to the actions of their neighbours in the Egyptian question, and their innermost feelings have been stirred—this is the greatest opportunity for the people of Persia in their call for unity.

This is a deed of the greatest deeds and the most beneficial in its fruits. Among the greatest virtues is for the virtuous people of Iran to compose articles and publish letters explaining the benefits of agreement between the two communities. For the pen has a great influence in the call, especially if it is written by the pens of sincere scholars. The human world is the world of thought and speech. So the establishment of sound thought and its publication in books, letters, and newspapers has the finest effect on the education of people and the refinement of their minds, and the removal of the enmities that corrupt their worldly and religious lives. If the insightful step forward, and they speak, preach, write, and publish—and their discourse is supported by the truth of their belief and the strength of their religious devotion—then the closest hope for success is theirs.

What difference is there between the Afghans and their Iranian brothers? All believe in God and what Muhammad brought, holding the same Book and praying towards the same Qibla. Is it not easier for

them to unite for this purpose than for the many other communities of the world to unite for their worldly interests? This work is the closest of them to success, and the most worthy of effort. Those who despair of it are those who do not know the histories of nations. Look at the Germans—they differed in the Christian religion as the Iranians differ with the Afghans in the sects of the Islamic faith. Yet did this doctrinal difference prevent them from political unity among the German nation? Did it prevent them from becoming a strong fortress, an impenetrable barrier, and did it prevent the state from having a word in European politics? No. When they returned to themselves and took hold of the essential principles, and considered national unity in the general interest, God returned to them the might and power that made them the rulers of Europe, with the balance of its politics in their hands.

Our hope is in the virtuous, generous ones—the owner of the newspaper Farhang of Isfahan, the owner of the newspaper Ittila' of Tehran, and the rest of the owners of Iranian newspapers—that they will direct their thoughts to this noble cause, and give it a prominent place in their newspapers, and publish it in their lands and the lands of the Afghans, in the Persian language, and in the language of both communities. It is but days, and we hope for you success, God willing, Lord of the worlds.

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Chapter Seventeen: God's Test of the Believers

“Alif, Lam, Meem. Do the people think that they will be left to say, 'We believe,' and they will not be tested? But We have certainly tested those before them, and Allah will surely make evident those who are truthful, and He will surely make evident the liars.” (Qur'an 29:1-3)

Most people say: "We believe," but they do not imagine that God will leave them with what they say and leave them with what they imagine. He will deal with them—glorified be He, the Just Judge—in a way that proves their claims to themselves, and makes them know whether they are truly believers or whether this is a claim that their souls have embellished, and a hope that has deceived them, and that they are wandering in a state of delusion, thinking they are on something while they are empty of everything. Faith has not yet entered their hearts; it is only on the surface, until they are tested in their claim of faith. God will know those who have strived and know the patient, so that people will have no argument against God. Far be it from a Wise One, who sent down the Books and sent the Messengers, promised and threatened, gave glad tidings and warned, and whose word is truth and whose promise is true, to reward those who claim His creed based on a mere illusion with no effect, a supposition with no foundation, with

eternal happiness and everlasting bliss. The one who is deceived by his claim, wandering in the darkness of his illusions, for whom faith does not make it easy to bear hardships and undergo difficulties in its path, is not far from the hypocrites whom God has judged to be in eternal misery and everlasting torment.

Faith overcomes every passion, conquers every desire, and drives the soul to seek the pleasure of God without any driver or leader other than it. God—and He is the most truthful of speakers—says: “Those who believe in Allah and the Last Day do not ask you for exemption from striving with their wealth and their lives. And Allah is Knowing of the righteous. Only those who do not believe in Allah and the Last Day ask your permission, and their hearts are in doubt, so they waver in their doubt.” (Qur'an 9:44-45) This is God's decree and this is His judgment on those who ask permission to expend their lives and wealth in fulfilling the obligation of faith. He has judged them as not believing. God has spoken the truth, and His Books and His Messengers have spoken the truth. For firm beliefs have effects that appear in resolves and wills, in actions and deeds. It is impossible for the believers to conceal them from people as long as they believe. Thus is faith in all its aspects and stages. It has characteristics that are inseparable from it, and inclinations that are never separated from it, and noble qualities that are never separate from it, and high effects that are inherent to its essence.

The believers in the early period—even those who mocked their creed—recognised their virtue and acknowledged their high station. Yes, they were the ones who were patient in the fires of God's test and trial until their faith appeared as pure, unalloyed gold, free from all adulteration. And God prepared for them, as a reward for their patience, an everlasting bliss. How difficult is God's test, and how severe is His trial! And how subtle is His wisdom in it, to distinguish the corrupt from the pure! Yes, the test of God involves the stripping away of habits, the bearing of difficulties, the expenditure of wealth, and the selling of lives. Every danger is a destruction to be avoided except in faith. Every destruction in it is salvation, and every death in defending faith is eternal life, and every hardship in fulfilling the rights of faith is everlasting happiness. The believer spends his wealth in what his faith requires, and does not fear poverty—even though Satan promises him poverty. There is no extravagance in spending for the sake of faith, even if it consumes all that is in the hands of the believers. The believer has a life beyond this life, and a pleasure beyond his pleasures, and a happiness other than what Satan adorns for him as happiness. Thus does the believer see, if faith has touched his heart, even if he has not reached the pinnacle of its perfection.

Fleeing from God's trial in faith is a cause of eternal shame. Fleeing from the shock of the army of misguidance, even if it reaches the furthest limits of imagination, is a cause of everlasting misery. There is no happiness except in religion, and without preserving religion, hearts are disheartened. Faith has obligations and duties, and it is difficult to perform them except for those whose hearts God has tested

for piety. Fulfilling the obligations of faith is surrounded by dangers and encompassed by hardships. How could it not be so, when the first thing faith requires is for man to emerge from himself, his wealth, his desires, and to place all of that under the commands of his Lord? The believer will not be a true believer until God and His Messenger are dearer to him than himself. The first feeling that touches the believer's soul is that he is, in this world, a traveller passing through to another abode, better than this life and more lasting. The first step the believer takes is to humble his soul when the caller of faith calls him—and there is no caller higher in position, more truthful in speech, or greater in status than the caller of truth from the Lord of the worlds. As long as the foot walks, the eye sees, and the hand works, God has a way (sunnah) for the believers.

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Chapter Eighteen: And Whoever God Leads Astray, There Is No Guide for Him

"And whoever God leads astray, there is no guide for him." (Qur'an 13:33)

Among humankind are souls with whom Islam is not pleased, and who are not content with disbelief. They change colours like chameleons, take shapes like ghouls, and shift about like the turning of time. They are satisfied with no state, nor do they follow a single pattern. They laugh at times of weeping, and are cheerful in the face of hardship, and weep at times of joy, and are vexed by abundant mercy. Their example is that of a triangular thorn, all of it thorns wherever you turn it. You see them in the day as Muslims, turning between the schools of Islam: they begin the morning as Sunnis, spend the afternoon as Shi'as, and pass the rest of the day as Wahhabis. But when night falls, you find them as Materialists and Libertines!

Those are the ones upon whom God's wrath has descended, and God curses them, and the cursers curse them. Among them are people of the fallen newspapers in India who seek to ingratiate themselves with the English Indian government, even if it harms their homelands and the sons of the nation in which they were born, to obtain from their oppressors a trifling reward, or to have a mere name for themselves in their circles. They have begun to misinterpret some chapters of Al-Urwah al-Wuthqa, diverting them from their true direction out of ignorance or stubbornness, and distorting words from their proper meanings according to their base desires and evil natures—may God fight them, how they are deluded! Those are a people we know, and they have no standing among their own people by which they are known. So their matter does not concern us. We extend our thanks to the important Indian newspapers that follow the path of truth in serving their homelands, and walk the path of moderation in their care

to translate some of the chapters of Al-Urwah al-Wuthqa into the Indian language, to generalise the benefit to the sons of their homelands. May God reward them well on behalf of the Muslims.

Chapter Nineteen: The Causes of Preserving the Kingdom

"Have they not traveled through the land, so that they may have hearts by which to reason, or ears by which to hear? For indeed, it is not the eyes that are blinded, but it is the hearts in the chests that are blinded." (Qur'an 22:46)

God has destroyed peoples, annihilated tribes, and ruined lands. His justice still replaces one people with another, and brings other people for every time. He is Wise, His knowledge preceded all things, and He is not unjust to His servants. He has made every event a cause, and He does not act in vain, nor does anything issue from Him without purpose. God has commanded His servants to travel through the land, saying: "Say, 'Travel through the land and observe how was the end of the deniers.'" (Qur'an 6:11) This is to show them His just decree and

His wise judgment upon those who came before, so that they obey His commands, stop at the limits of His laws, and win the good of this world and the happiness of the Hereafter.

Whoever has a heart to reason with, an eye to see with, a mind to understand with, and follows the events of the world, considers how nations change, and delves into the histories of past generations, and takes lessons from what God has narrated to us in His revealed Book, will judge with a judgment that is not mixed with doubt, that no calamity has ever befallen a people, nor has any trial struck them, nor has any harm touched them, except that they themselves were the wrongdoers to themselves. This was because they exceeded the limits of God, violated His sanctities, cast aside His just commands, deviated from His true laws, and distorted words from their proper places, interpreting God's speech according to their desires and passions.

Just as food, medicine, and the changing of seasons and climates have a clear effect on temperaments, by the decree of the Almighty, the All-Knowing, so too has God's wisdom decreed that every human action, and every stage of human development, has an effect on the social body. For this reason, it is part of His mercy towards His servants to set limits and establish rulings, so that good is distinguished from evil and benefit from harm. He sent messengers and revealed books. Whoever violates the divine commands has wronged himself, so let him prepare for the disgrace of this world and the torment of the Hereafter.

The effect of universal causes on the stages of life may be hidden even from the skilled physician. But the effect of human conditions on their social body is easy for anyone with perception to understand, if the eye of his insight is not blind. Have you not seen that God has made agreement in the general interests and unity in the common benefits a cause of strength and the attainment of the necessities of comfort in this worldly life, and the ability to reach the best of the eternal abode in the Hereafter? And He has made contention and mutual neglect a cause of weakness, and a reason for falling into the pit of incapacity for any worldly or otherworldly benefit, and a preparation for the falling of the disputants into the claws of the aggressor nations.

Whoever looks at the conditions of peoples, past and present, and is not afflicted with a disease of the heart or blindness of insight, will perceive the secret of God's command in His saying: "Hold fast to God’s rope all together; do not split into factions." (Qur'an 3:103) And the secret of His prohibition in His saying: "And do not dispute and lose courage and your strength would depart." (Qur'an 8:46) That is, your glory, your greatness, and the loftiness of your word.

God makes reliance upon those who are not worthy of reliance, and trust in those who are not deserving of trust, a cause of disorder and corruption. Whoever trusts in his work with one who is not of him, and is not connected to him by any true bond, nor joined to him by a

sound tie, and has no nature that urges him to care for his interest, or to keep his secret, or to exert his effort in bringing his benefit and repelling harms from him, will undoubtedly have his affairs corrupted and his end be evil. Even if he is a king, his kingdom will be lost; or if he is a prince, his rule will be nullified. Events bear witness to this, and the conditions of the deluded speak of it. Whoever is not afflicted with blindness of insight will perceive, at the first glance, the secret of God's prohibition in His saying: "O you who have believed, do not take My enemies and your enemies as allies, extending to them affection while they have disbelieved in what came to you of the truth." (Qur'an 60:1) And His saying: "O you who have believed, do not take as intimates those other than yourselves, for they will not spare you any ruin. They wish you hardship. Hatred has already appeared from their mouths, and what their breasts conceal is greater." (Qur'an 3:118) And the rest of His prohibitions, built upon profound wisdom, guiding to the interests of both abodes.

Every person, in his class and within his nation, has an obligation imposed upon him, and a duty that he must fulfil, to preserve for himself a good life in this world, and to prepare for himself a sound outcome in the Hereafter. He is a human being with one heart. If he makes most of his concern for one thing, he neglects other things. If he indulges in pleasures, goes to excess in luxury, and is insolent in what God has blessed him with, he neglects his obligations, harms himself, is deprived of his benefits, and the severest punishment from God descends upon him. He loses this world and the Hereafter together. The effects of his actions may touch those around him with

evil, and those who dwell with him may burn in the fire of his corrupted morals and deviation from the path of truth. The accounts of the corrupt in every nation speak of this, and history testifies to it, and it is only hidden from a blinded insight. In what God has narrated to us of the conditions of the corrupt, there is the greatest lesson: "And how many a city have We destroyed that was insolent in its life! And those are their dwellings, not inhabited after them except a little. And We were the inheritors." (Qur'an 28:58) "Then when We seized their corrupt ones with punishment, at once they were crying out. Do not cry out today. Indeed, you will not be helped by Us." (Qur'an 23:64-65) "That was because you used to exult in the land without right, and because you used to be insolent." (Qur'an 40:75) These are the ends of those who are distracted by their own fortunes from what God has obligated upon them. "And whoever turns away from My remembrance, indeed, he will have a miserable life, and We will raise him blind on the Day of Resurrection." (Qur'an 20:124)

Man has been given only a little knowledge. No one person can encompass all the aspects of his own benefit, nor can he know the sources of his advantages to acquire them, or uncover the hidden places of his harms to avoid them. Man was created weak, so God guided him to seek help from others of his own kind: "And We have made you peoples and tribes that you may know one another." (Qur'an 49:13) We were created needy of help, compelled to be patient, and our Lord guided us to cooperation and mutual support. This is what reason judges in private interests. So how about a person whom God has entrusted with the care of a nation, and to whom He has given the

reins of a people whose complete interests are in his hands, and he is the one who restrains, the one who establishes, and the one who raises? There is no doubt that such a person is more in need of consultation and benefiting from the opinions of the wise. He is more in need of this than the one whose efforts are for his own personal matters. The breadth of his need for consultation is proportional to the breadth of his authority. God commanded His Prophet—who was infallible—to do so, as a teaching and a guide, saying: "And consult them in the matter." (Qur'an 3:159) And He said, in praising the believers: "And their affair is determined by consultation among themselves." (Qur'an 42:38)

Whoever deviates from this path has gone astray. Whoever's insight does not guide him to this straight path, has he not reflected upon the word? Or has there come to them what did not come to their forefathers? (Qur'an 23:68)

If the ruler of the country and the one in charge of it glances at himself, he will see that his country is at all times exposed to the ambitions of the greedy, and that the avarice ingrained in human nature constantly moves his neighbours to attack his kingdoms, to humiliate his people, to enslave his family, and to monopolize the benefits of their land and the fruits of their toil for their own countrymen. Therefore, upon him, and upon those who share his authority—his officials, his governors in his provinces, his army commanders, and all the men of opinion upon whom the kingdom's

order depends—it is necessary to prepare for the sudden arrival of aggression and to repel the attacks of foreign raids. If they neglect to prepare the necessary means, or are lax in what would ward off the flood of ambitions, or are negligent in what would strengthen their power and fortify their might, in any way and of any kind, they have exposed their kingdom to destruction and cast themselves into the abyss of dangers. This is understood by the fool and the wise alike, and is grasped by the ignorant and the learned. It is the secret of the explicit and implicit in God's saying: "And prepare against them whatever you are able of power." (Qur'an 8:60) He commanded the preparation of power, extending it to the limit of ability, according to what the times require and the condition of those whose attacks are feared. This is God's command, awakening the heedless and reminding the forgetful. "Then what is with these people that they do not understand the discourse?" (Qur'an 4:78)

Giving every rightful person his right, placing things in their proper places, and entrusting the affairs of the kingdom to those capable of performing them—this is what preserves the kingdom, strengthens the authority, builds the structure of power, fortifies the foundations of might, preserves the internal system from flaws, and heals the souls of the nation from their ailments. This is what the very dictate of reason commands, and it is the emblem of wisdom by which the heavens and the earth are established, and by which the order of every existence is preserved. It is justice, which the Sharia commands in God's saying: "Indeed, Allah commands justice and good conduct." (Qur'an 16:90) Just as deviation from balance and departure from the path of

uprightness in every part of the world causes its ruin and dissolution, so too does injustice in human societies cause their destruction. For this reason, the divine commands emphasize justice, and the Majestic Book is replete with prohibitions against injustice and oppression. The rulers are the foremost to whom the commands and prohibitions in this matter are directed. Justice is the wisdom with which God has blessed His servants, and He has linked it to great good, saying: "And whoever is granted wisdom has indeed been granted much good." (Qur'an 2:269) It is the manifestation of the greatest of His attributes; He is the Just Judge, and He is the Subtle, the Aware.

Whoever travels through the earth and traces the histories of nations, and whose heart is enlightened, will know that no structure of a kingdom has ever been demolished, nor has any throne of glory been overturned, except due to discord and division, or trust in those who are not trustworthy, or the infiltration of the foreign element, or arrogance in opinion, or disdain for consultation, or negligence in preparing power and defending the territory, or entrusting affairs to those who cannot perform them, and placing things in other than their proper places. All of this is injustice in ruling and disorder in systems, and in all of it is a deviation from the way of God, which incurs His wrath upon the transgressors, and He is the Best of Judges.

If we were to reflect upon the verses of the Qur'an and take lessons from the events that have befallen the Islamic kingdoms, we would know that among us are those who have deviated from the commands

of God and strayed from His guidance. Among us are those who have followed the desires of their souls and the steps of Satan. That is because God would never change a blessing He had bestowed upon a people until they change what is within themselves, and indeed God is Hearing and Knowing. (Qur'an 8:53)

So it is upon the firmly established scholars—who are the spirit of the nation and the leaders of the Muhammadan community—to care about awakening the heedless to what God has obligated, and awakening the sleeping hearts from what religion has obligated. They must teach the ignorant, disturb the slumbering soul, and remind everyone of the blessings God bestowed upon their fathers. They must turn their attention to what God has prepared for them if they are upright, and warn them of the evil end if they do not remedy their affairs by returning to the path of the Prophet and his companions, and rejecting every innovation, and abandoning every evil custom that does not conform to the texts of the Majestic Book. They must relate to them the conditions of past nations and what befell them from God's decree when they deviated from His laws and cast aside His commands: "So God made them taste disgrace in the present life; but the punishment of the Hereafter is greater, if they only knew." (Qur'an 39:26)

It is upon the scholars to remove despair by reminding them of God's true promise and His true threat in His saying: "Allah has promised those who have believed among you and done righteous deeds that He will surely grant them succession in the land just as He granted

succession to those before them, and that He will surely establish for them their religion which He has approved for them, and that He will surely replace their fear with security." (Qur'an 24:55) This is the task of the deeply rooted scholars, and they are not few among the Muslims. We do not think they will be negligent in what God has entrusted to them and placed upon their responsibility. They are the trustees of the religion, the bearers of the Sharia, the raisers of the banner of Islam, and the trustees of God over the believers. May God help them in their good deeds, and benefit the believers through their guidance.

Chapter Twenty

Man has been granted a subtle intellect, a penetrating thought, a strong intuition, brilliance in deduction, and skill in inference. Yet, with all this, he is often unable to grasp the causes of events in their diversity. This prevents him from knowing future events and veils the path of correctness from his sight. He stumbles into error and wades into confusion. Premises become confused, so conclusions resemble them, and his deductive reasoning becomes flawed. This is what leads many people to judge the possible as impossible, or the impossible as possible.

If a skilled and insightful expert in the arts of politics, knowledgeable about the conditions of nations, had gone to the Indian lands forty years ago, and had travelled through its regions, and had observed the conditions of the sons of the Mughal sultans and what they are in of humiliation, and the descendants of Tipu Sultan and what has befallen them of poverty and misery, and the lineage of the sultans of Oudh and what has descended upon them of abasement, and the Nawabs of Karnataka and the princes of Sindh and what has befallen them of calamities and afflictions, and the condition of the Sikh tribe settled in Punjab and the areas around it, and had taken note of the calamity that descended upon others of the princes and great men; then, if he had reflected on the condition of the British and their deceitfulness, their cunning, their cunning in guile and political tricks, the weapons and destructive tools they possess, the various machinery and powerful forces they have, and their skill in ruses and political deception, and the condition of their subjects of weakness, helplessness, purity of heart, and simplicity of mind—if he had brought all his intellectual effort to bear on the consequences of these conditions, he would have judged, based on the premises he had and the analogies he could make, that these peoples, the lineages of princes, and the descendants of sultans had been struck with eternal humiliation and condemned to everlasting servitude. Indeed, his delusion might have led him to judge their total annihilation and the necessity of their dissolution, for the observer of their weakness, the vast power of the English, their great influence, and the extreme helplessness of the Indians, could not have imagined at that time that the days would bring this new event.

The Russians are crossing the deserts from beyond the Caspian Sea, carrying their equipment, raising their flags, striking into those wastelands, advancing towards the borders of India. It would not have occurred to anyone at that time that the English greed and their ambition to seize Egypt would cause the European states to turn away from them, and would require the statesman Bismarck to gather the word of the states against them. Nor could it have crossed anyone's mind that a figure named Muhammad Ahmad would rise with a religious call in the upper regions of Sudan, and that his repeated defeats of the English would stir the hearts of the Indians, awaken their sleeping ones, arouse the still thoughts of their minds, and revive their ambitions after despair, spreading his call throughout the vastness of India.

Yes, and from where can man have knowledge of these events, which are hidden behind the veil of the unseen? Thus, he is excused in his judgments and constrained by his illusions. We see the circles of misfortune turning around the English government. The forces of evil have prepared to spring upon it, and it has no ally in Europe. Its reliance on the benefits of other nations and its greed to profit from the interests of the world have alienated it from its neighbours. The vastness of its African possessions has become a source of its weakness, and this is the beginning of a movement for the Russians to advance towards the Indian borders. It is in the interest of the European states, especially Germany—as appears from its official

newspapers—to support the Russians in their aim of conquering India. For the Russian flood towards the borders of India is better for Europe in general and Germany in particular than its descent upon some European positions, and it is more effective in preserving European peace.

When the day of confrontation between Russia and England comes on the borders of India—and it is not far off—the fate of the English army in the first clash will be what we think, due to its small numbers, and because the majority of it is composed of Indians whose hearts are wounded and whose innermost feelings are injured, waiting for an opportunity to rise against their unjust rulers. If defeat occurs, the fire of revolution will blaze throughout India, and the English authority will be wiped out by the hands of the Indians.

It is not possible for Russia to take absolute control of the Indian territories at the first blow. The lands are vast and require millions of people to administer and preserve them, which would be difficult for them to bring from their distant lands. Yes, the English have taken control of India, but in reality, Russia will not be satisfied with their departure, except to the extent that it can claim a position in the east. It will have to establish an independent local government under its own influence. It will offer its protection to the remnants of the royal families and the ancient lineages of the sons of the Mughal sultans, the descendants of Tipu Sultan, the princes of Sindh, Oudh, Karnataka, the Marathas, and others. The Russian state will be content with

concluding commercial treaties between them and itself, as was the case in the past in some of the independent Islamic states, and it will grant them independence with its protection. The Russian state will be satisfied that its affairs with India are entirely commercial. If an agreement is reached between it and Afghanistan, it will be a political agreement, and it will pave the way for it to conclude commercial treaties.

Russia did not come to Merv to have its armies perish in its deserts. It is not deterred from its path by its love for the English, nor by any treaty with them. It came to open the door of trade with the richest country in the East, and to demolish the English authority there. For English greed has left no commercial interest for any nation to enjoy. This is a threatening cloud over the British government, but it is a cloud of mercy over the Indians, as God has avenged them of their enemy. So let them rejoice in this, and let the princes prepare themselves for what God has prepared for them of honour after humiliation, and freedom after servitude, and deliverance from the oppression of a government that shows mercy to neither young nor old.

We do not think, nor will we think, that the English will find, on the day of confrontation, a supporter from the states of Europe, nor from the states of the East, nor from the Indians, nor from any class of humanity. For there is no soul on the face of the earth that has not tasted some harm from the English government. The English

government feels the approach of this great danger, and knows that the calamities that befall it in India will not be limited to its condition there, but will shake the very foundations of the British Isles. Its life and glory depend only on India. How can the English not feel the evil of their end, when they sense their weakness in military power, the turning away of the hearts of their Indian subjects from them, and their burning with rage against them? May God hasten for them what is good for the weak.

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Chapter Twenty-One

"And do not be like those who became divided and differed after clear proofs had come to them. And those will have a great punishment." (Qur'an 3:105)

The Russian advance towards India has drawn near. The course of the European states in their politics and their zeal for preserving peace in Europe will support the Russians in their aims and prepare the means for them, hastening the time of their arrival. This is a new phase of politics. If the state of Iran were to agree with the Emirate of Afghanistan at this time, each of them would have a great share and

abundant benefit. Although the Russians are supported by the hatred of the Indians for the English, they face obstacles in their path that can only be overcome by the alliance of the Persians and the Afghans.

India is far from the Russian encampments, with unknown routes and winding paths ahead. The Russians have no experience of them. The Russians are in need of communication with the princes of India, and they are in dire need of understanding their morals, the currents of their inclinations, and the locations of their desires. There is no way for them to achieve this except by sharing their military and peaceful operations with the Persians and Afghans. It is not easy for the Russians to seek the help of the Persian state and the Afghan Emirate in opening the doors of India unless they share the spoils and the benefits with them. Otherwise, they would be a solid barrier against their most important goals. How can the Russians break through those bodies occupying the path to India, which are the dens of the lions? How can they pass safely through their rugged mountain passes if they intend to advance by force?

The Russians are not unaware of the difficulty of the matter, nor is it hidden from them that dislodging a great nation from lands it has inhabited for ages, where it achieved the highest glory and greatest pride, is among the greatest of deeds and requires many helpers and supporters. They have no one to help them except the Persian state and the Afghan government. It is not wise for them to keep the fruits of

their work to themselves alone, especially since they seek only to open the doors of India to trade.

So it is incumbent upon the Afghans to raise their sights and welcome their fortune with sound thought and wise reason, and to step forward to agree with their Iranian brothers. There is nothing between them that could justify differences in public interests. They are all of one origin, and they are united by a single bond—the most honourable of bonds: the bond of the Islamic religion. Let them know that if they continue to differ at a time like this, it may bring harm to them and to their Muslim brothers among the Indians. The Persians and the Afghans must consider the unifying word and the racial bond, and not let the minor sectarian differences be a cause for lowering the Islamic word and cutting the true bond. It is not rational to make a partial difference a cause for the dissolution of the whole.

I think that each of the two communities has now learned that the difference between them is what brought upon each of them what it brought. This sectarian difference between them was used by some politicians in past ages as a tool for discord and hostility. They may have reaped from their planting some fruits in the past, but now it will only bear destruction and ruin. This is not something I think is hidden from any wise person.

It is not permissible for the Afghans, at this time, to stop at this sectarian difference. They must move beyond it to the essential foundation, the course of action, and the common interest. They cannot transcend it except by agreement with their Iranian brothers. This is a time for brotherhood, and this is an opportunity for unity. The Afghans have no excuse, and there is no place for pretexts among them, especially since the leadership of the Persian state has fallen to a man of great ability, high rank, and vast knowledge. He is not veiled by the concerns of multiplicity from the essence of unity, nor do the stages of change prevent him from reaching the stations of power. The one manifests itself to him in the ranks of the many, and the reality of oneness is revealed to him in the stations of number. Unity is his creed, and harmony is his doctrine. In my view, he is the merciful father to every Iranian without exception. He strives to unite their word, regardless of sectarian differences or divisions of race. He only considers the true bond. So the Afghans must seize the moment in these times to form an alliance with their brothers, and not let this opportunity slip away. Both communities must make their agreement a fortress for their homelands, a preparation to confront their enemies, and a flowing source of good for their lands, so that they may attain high honour and bequeath to their descendants an eternal glory.

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Chapter Twenty-Two: The Ways of God with Nations and Their Application to the Muslims

"That is because Allah would never change a blessing He had bestowed upon a people until they change what is within themselves." (Qur'an 8:53)

These are the verses of the Wise Book, guiding to the truth and to a straight path. None doubts them except the astray people. Does God break His promise and His threat, when He is the most truthful of those who promise and the most powerful of those who threaten? Did God lie to His messengers? Did He bid farewell to His prophets and abandon them? Did He deceive His creation and lead them to the path of misguidance? We seek refuge in God! Did He send down clear signs in vain and without purpose? Did His messengers invent lies against Him? Did they fabricate falsehoods against Him? Did God address His servants with symbols they do not understand, and signals they do not perceive? Did He call them to what they do not comprehend? We seek God's forgiveness! Has He not sent down the Qur'an in clear Arabic, without any crookedness, and detailed every matter in it, and placed in it an explanation for everything? Exalted are His attributes, and far above what the wrongdoers say, high and great! He is truthful in His promise and His threat. He never took a messenger as a liar, nor did He bring anything in vain. He has guided us only to the path of guidance. There is no change in His verses. The

heavens and the earth may pass away, but no ruling from His Book—which falsehood cannot approach from before or behind—will ever pass away.

God says: "And We have written in the Psalms after the Reminder that the land will be inherited by My righteous servants." (Qur'an 21:105) And He says: "And to Allah belongs honour, and to His Messenger, and to the believers." (Qur'an 63:8) And He said: "And it is a duty upon Us to help the believers." (Qur'an 30:47) And He said: "That He may make it prevail over all religions, and sufficient is Allah as a witness." (Qur'an 48:28) This is what God has promised in His decisive verses, which admit of no interpretation. None can interpret these verses except those who have strayed from the path and seek to distort words from their proper places. This is His covenant with that pitied nation, and God will never break His covenant. He promised them victory, honour, and the elevation of their word, and He paved the way for them to what He promised until the Day of Resurrection. He did not set a limit to their glory, nor a bound to their honour. This is the nation whose mention He raised to the peaks of glory, whose foundations He established upon the lofty peaks. Their greatness toppled the highest of the firmly rooted mountains, and their awe melted the innermost parts of hearts. Their tremendous appearance terrified every soul, and every mind was bewildered by its cause. The people of truth recognised the cause and said: "They are a people who were with God, so God was with them; a group that rose to support the noble truth, so God aided them from His unseen power."

This is a nation that, in its early days, lacked resources, was impoverished in weapons and the equipment of war, yet it pierced through the ranks of nations and subdued their lands. the fortresses of the Persians did not repel them, nor did the fortresses of the Romans stop them, nor did the forces of the Sassanid state or the ancient Umayyad state. The abundance of wealth among others did not intimidate them, nor did the majesty of their kings, the splendour of their courts, the diversity of their crafts, the breadth of their arts, the rigidity of their laws, or the organisation of their armies. It advanced into the lands of its enemies, who scorned and underestimated it. No one could have imagined that this small band would shake the foundations of those great states and erase their names from the tablet of glory. No one could have thought that this small group would conquer those great nations, instil in their souls the submission to its religion, and subject them to its commands, customs, and laws. But all of this happened, and that pitied nation—despite its weakness—achieved what no other nation had achieved. What an excellent people, who were truthful with God in their struggle, so He rewarded them with glory in this world and happiness in the Hereafter.

This is the nation whose sons now number four hundred million, and whose lands extend from the Atlantic Ocean to the interior of China—fertile soil, rich plantations, and spacious valleys. Yet we see its lands in decline, its wealth plundered; foreigners are overcoming its peoples one nation after another, dividing its lands piece by piece. It has no word to be heard, nor command to be obeyed. Indeed, its

remaining kings wake each morning to a calamity and spend each evening in a darkened distress. Their circumstances have become too narrow for the vast disasters that befall them. Fear for themselves has become greater than hope for them. This is the nation to which the great states once paid tribute out of hand, humbled, to preserve their own lives. And its kings in these days see their survival only in fawning over those foreign states. What a calamity! What a disaster! Is this not a great catastrophe? Is this not a terrible affliction?

What is the cause of this decline? What is the reason for this degradation? Has God's promise to us been broken? Far be it from God! Have we doubted His promise of victory after He has confirmed it to us? Glory be to Him, nothing of the sort has happened, nor will it. We must look to ourselves, for no blame lies upon us except our own. God, in His mercy, has established immutable ways for the progress of nations, and then He said: "And you will never find any change in the way of Allah." (Qur'an 33:62) So reflect and consider, and you will be guided to the fact that nations do not lose their glory, nor does their name vanish from the tablet of existence, except after they deviate from those ways which God has established on the foundation of profound wisdom. God does not change what is in a people of honour, authority, prosperity, ease, security, and comfort, until those people change what is in themselves: the light of intellect, soundness of thought, the brightness of insight, and reflection on God's actions in past nations, and contemplation of the conditions of those who deviated from the path of God and were destroyed, and destruction descended upon them. Then, by their deviation from the path of

justice, and their departure from the way of insight and wisdom, they deviated from uprightness in opinion, truthfulness in speech, purity of heart, chastity from desires, zeal for truth, the upholding of its support, and cooperation in its protection. They abandoned justice, did not unite their efforts to elevate its word, followed vain desires, clung to fleeting pleasures, and committed monstrous evils. Their resolves weakened, they were miserly in spending their wealth to preserve just ways, and they chose life in falsehood over death in supporting truth. So God seized them for their sins and made them a lesson.

Thus, God has made the preservation and growth of nations dependent on the adornment of the virtues we have mentioned, and their destruction and ruin dependent on abandoning them. This is an immutable way, which does not differ with the difference of nations, nor change with the change of ages, just as His ways in creation, existence, the provision of sustenance, and the determination of lifespans. We must return to our hearts, test our perceptions, search our morals, and observe the paths of our conduct, to know whether we are on the way of those who preceded us in faith. Are we following the path of the righteous early ancestors? Have we changed what is in ourselves so that God has changed what is in us? Have we been ungrateful for His blessings, so He has changed our blessings? Glory be to God, and far be it from us to describe Him as such!

Rather, we were truthful to God in His promise, until we became weak and disputed among ourselves, and disobeyed Him after He had

shown our forefathers what they loved. Our great numbers impressed us, but they did not avail us anything. He exchanged our honour for humiliation, our elevation for decline, our wealth for poverty, and our sovereignty for servitude. We cast God's commands behind our backs, and we failed to support Him, so He recompensed us for our evil deeds. We have no path to salvation except repentance and turning back to Him. How can we not blame ourselves, when we see the foreigners taking our lands, humiliating our people, and shedding the blood of innocent brothers, and we see no movement from any of us?

This number and this multitude of this nation do not move to defend their homelands, nor do they consider the disgrace of humiliation, the chain of servitude, and the abode of abasement. Our word has been scattered, East and West. It has been torn apart like the tearing of a garment by a corpse, without a hand lifting to protect it or a voice calling to unite it. None of us respects another, nor do we observe any bond or covenant. We do not honour the rites of our religion, nor defend its territory, nor uphold it with our wealth and lives as we are commanded.

Do those who wear the garb of believers think that God will be pleased with what they utter upon their tongues, while it does not touch the depth of their hearts? Will God be pleased with them when they worship Him on the edge, so if good befalls them they are content, and if trial befalls them they turn on their faces, losing this world and the Hereafter? Have they thought that God would not test

what is in their hearts, or refine what is in their souls? Do they not know that God will not leave the believers in the state they are in until He distinguishes the corrupt from the pure? Have they forgotten that God has purchased from the believers their lives and their wealth for the establishment of His support and the elevation of His word, so that they are not miserly with their wealth, nor stingy with their lives? Is it permissible for a believer, after this, to claim to be a believer while he has not taken a single step in the path of faith—neither with his wealth nor with his soul? The true believers are those who, when people say to them, "Indeed, the people have gathered against you, so fear them," it only increases them in faith and firmness, and they say in their boldness: "Sufficient for us is Allah, and He is the best Disposer of affairs." How can a believer fear death when he knows that the one killed in the path of God is alive and provided for by his Lord, enjoying eternal happiness, in the grace of God and His pleasure? How can a believer fear anyone other than God, when God says: "So do not fear them, but fear Me, if you are believers." (Qur'an 3:175)

Let each person look to himself, not follow the whisperings of Satan, and let each test his heart before a day comes when no friend will benefit, nor intercession be accepted. Let him compare his qualities with what God has described the believers with, and what He has made the characteristics of faith. If each of us were to do this, we would see the justice of God in us and be guided.

Glory be to God! This is our nation, one nation, and the work of preserving it from enemies is the greatest obligation of religion when aggression occurs. This is established by the Book of the Almighty, and the consensus of the nation, past and present. Why do we see foreigners descending upon the Islamic lands, raid after raid, conquering them, state after state, while those who bear the mark of faith are the inhabitants of every land, are established in every region, and feel no zeal for their religion, nor are they stirred by fervour to defend it?

O people of the Qur'an, you are not upon anything until you uphold the Qur'an, and act upon what it contains of commands and prohibitions, and make it your Imam, in your greater and lesser affairs, with the observance of wisdom in action, just as your righteous forefathers did. O people of the Qur'an, this is your Book, so read from it: "And when a decisive Surah is revealed and fighting is mentioned in it, you see those in whose hearts is disease looking at you with the look of one who is overcome by death." (Qur'an 47:20) Do you not know in whom this verse was revealed? It was revealed to describe those who have no faith. Would a believer be pleased to be described by this description indicated by the noble verse? Many of them have been deceived by the beautification of their desires, and what their false hopes have made seem good to them. "Then do they not reflect upon the Qur'an, or are there locks upon their hearts?" (Qur'an 47:24)

I say, and I fear no denier: Faith does not touch a person's heart unless the first of his deeds is the offering of his wealth and his life in the path of faith. He does not consider any excuse or pretext in this. Every apology for remaining behind in the cause of God is an accusation of hypocrisy and a mark of weakness of faith. Yet, with all this, we say that good remains in this nation until the Day of Resurrection, as the Prophetic news has come to us. We hope that this deviation we see today is merely a passing shadow. If the pious scholars were to rise and perform their duty of sincere advice to God, His Messenger, and the believers, and revive the spirit of the Qur'an, and remind the believers of its noble meanings, and turn their attention to God's covenant which is never broken, we would see truth ascending and falsehood descending. We would see a light that dazzles the eyes, and deeds that baffle the minds.

The movement we feel in the souls of Muslims in most regions these days gives us glad tidings that God has prepared the souls for a cry of truth that will unite the word of the Muslims, and unify all the monotheists. We hope the action is near. If the Muslims act, and they gather their affairs to undertake what God has obligated upon them, their return will be true, their repentance will be sound, and God will pardon them. God is the possessor of bounty over the believers. So it is upon the scholars to hasten to this good, which is all good: the gathering of the word of the Muslims. The greatest virtue belongs to the one who begins this work. "Whoever God guides is the guided one, and whoever God leads astray, you will never find for him a guiding protector." (Qur'an 18:17)

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Chapter Twenty-Three: Delusion (Al-Wahm)

"O God, remove from our sight the veil of delusions so that we may see realities as they are, so that we do not go astray and become wretched."

May God fight delusion! Delusion is sometimes a mirror of terrors and a revealer of horrors, and at other times a depictor of joys and a narrator of delights. In all its stages, it is a veil to reality and a covering over the eye of insight. Yet it has authority over the will and power over resolve. It brings about evil and repels good. Delusion makes the weak appear strong, the near appear far, safety appear as fear, and refuge appear as destruction. Delusion distracts the deluded one from himself and turns him away from his senses. It makes the existent seem non-existent, and the non-existent seem existent. The deluded one lives in a non-existent world and an unperceived realm, stumbling through it like one in a fit, not knowing what he has gained or what he has lost. When delusion gains power over the imagination, it transforms it into a reality in the mind, driving it to action.

When realities are hidden, delusions take control and dominate the wills, leading the deluded to the wilderness of misguidance. They stumble through unknowns, unable to find a path or follow a straight way.

There was a time in the past when the Eastern nations were afflicted with disunity of word, diversity of desires, and veiled by ignorance from knowing the conditions of the Westerners, their industries, and their customs. The Easterners considered every strange thing a miracle, and every novel invention magic or a divine blessing. The English seized this opportunity and rushed to the East, spreading their authority over most of its regions. They did not overwhelm its inhabitants except with some marvels of European industry that stirred their thoughts of delusion. Then delusion was strengthened by the snares of trickery and cunning that the English set up, until they captivated the hearts of the poor souls and bewildered them about what was in their hands. Indeed, they took them away from their minds and the thoughts of their hearts. They plundered their wealth, seized their lands, and expelled them from their properties. The English nation became rich by what it seized, affluent by what it plundered, and luxurious by what it owned. Today, you see it ruling over vast regions and extensive tracts of land, while its forces are spread throughout the Eastern lands in small numbers. In all of them, it is weak and feeble, unable to defend or protect. The slightest movement in those regions would shake that power or destroy it entirely.

This matter has become apparent to the English nation. It is in constant trembling over its possessions, in fear of their disintegration and loss. It is apprehensive of every event in the world, and disturbed by any movement that occurs anywhere. Every calamity that strikes the East or West causes a tremor in the English forces scattered across the weak regions in all corners. Yet, despite all this, the matter remains hidden from the Easterners, veiled from them by the veil of delusion. Delusion makes every Easterner imagine that the English are as they were in their past days. The example of the Easterners with the English is like that of a passer-by in a desert who sees the carcass of a lion lying on his path, devoid of life and motion, and imagines it to be a ferocious predator, so he turns away from the path out of delusion and suspicion, without investigating what he feared. He trembles, falls, and dies of fear, or becomes lost after that, unable to find his way to his goal. He may encounter destruction in his misguidance and a deadly end in his error.

Indeed, we do not err if we say that this delusion was also dominant over the Westerners, just as it is dominant over the Easterners. The Europeans looked at England in its distant possessions as they looked at it in the British Isles. The English government was fortified and impregnable under this delusional dome, seated on the throne of this imaginary greatness. The English feel the weakness of their power, so they constantly strive to conceal it, and no veil is thicker than delusion. For this reason, we see them, in every event, raising a

clamour, shouting, and roaring, to stir up the fancies of delusion with the noise, so that it turns the eyes of the beholders and veils the sight of the insightful, preventing them from investigating the truth. Otherwise, a little attention would reveal it, and the ruin of the English would rise up.

The English went to India with combined forces, competing with France, Holland, and Portugal in the vast fields of the Indian lands. They won the race by their distinguishing cunning and deceit, aided by the heedlessness of the Indians at that time and their purity of heart. The souls were deceived by the English, and they gained power over those lands, taking control of them gradually, leaving no other state except insignificant pockets of land. The first thing they used to attract the simple hearts was their saying: "We want to free you from these oppressive states (France, Holland, and Portugal), for they want to dominate your kingdoms. As for us, the English, we want only your liberation and independence."

Now we see the English in India, Indochina, and Burma, ruling over about two hundred and fifty million souls, all of them hating that English authority, all seeking to be free of it. Their hatred is stronger than any love, and their aversion is more powerful than any inclination. If any one of them were asked about the most oppressive government in the world, they would say the English. No government reaches the level of the English in oppression, cruelty, and arrogance. Yet, despite this hatred seizing the hearts of those subjects, they are

forced to obey. What compels them to submit to that detested government except fifty thousand English soldiers? And this is while there are small kingdoms that have some form of independence and fear the loss of what remains to them—if their forces were gathered, they would exceed three hundred thousand soldiers, not to mention those who can bear arms from the inhabitants of the lands that have been fully incorporated into English rule and whose independence has been completely lost.

If those poor souls were to glance at themselves with a reflective eye, and realize what God has given them of natural strength, and look at the weakness of the English in their present state, they would see the means of salvation in their own hands, and the refuge of deliverance beneath their own feet. They would know that their independence for themselves and their lands does not require much effort, nor great expense, nor the shedding of much blood. There are European states that fear the English state, considering its vast possessions and great nations, whose numbers exceed the subjects of any other state. They measure its power and influence in those distant regions by what they see in the British Isles, imagining that it has the power to defend those kingdoms equal to its power in Britain, or close to it. They did not consider that the English body has been stretched in length and breadth to the point that if the slightest disorder occurred in it, its parts would be torn apart. Their forces are scattered across the face of the earth until they have no strength left in any one place. Their subjects in every region are in a state of constant vexation, waiting for an

outside force to help them achieve what they seek in harming their oppressive rulers.

If that state which fears England were to look at the reality of the matter, it would not need, in opposing it, to spend what it spends. The solution is closer than the length of a single day's thought—were it not for the veil of delusion. May God fight delusion! The Ottomans look at the English state as they look at the Russian state, noting that England rules over two hundred and fifty million souls. They think, for this reason, that opposing this state might bring harm. Would that they had directed their gaze beyond that, to see its military strength and what it can send of soldiers to the battlefields, and to realize that these great numbers are, in reality, a strength for its enemies against it, waiting for opportunities to cast off its obedience. If England were to engage in war with another state, you would see those two hundred and fifty million fighting against the English troops, especially the fifty million Muslims in the English government, who consider the Ottoman state their qibla and refuge. They are the most warlike people in the Indian lands.

If only the Ottomans knew that England only wins over the Muslims in India by claiming to be the ally and supporter of the Ottoman state, defending its rights! By God, if the Ottomans knew the moral authority they have over the English subjects, and they used that authority wisely, they would not have to endure the bitterness of patience over the English's arrogant control and their injustice in their

affairs, and their transgression against the rights of the Sultan, such as in the Egyptian question, which is the most important of Ottoman or Islamic questions.

The inhabitants of Egypt, in the days of 'Urabi, were divided into two groups: one seeking to preserve the old order and follow what Tawfiq Pasha[19] prescribed; the other inclined towards 'Urabi on one side, and fearing the old authority on the other. This second group was in a state of hesitation and doubt, while the first was inclined to failure. The English entered with no real war, but with intimidation, a little persuasion, and some intrigue. They found hearts ready, and they took hold of them, so the bond was dissolved, and people abandoned 'Urabi when the inclination towards him left their hearts. Yet none of them believed that the English sought anything from the country other than to support Tawfiq Pasha and rescue him from the rebels. So the Egyptians were lenient in the matter, with their good opinion of the English government, despite the strong evidence that the legitimate sovereign was displeased with their actions. By this, the English prevailed and established their feet.

Now that sufficient time has passed for their treachery and ill intent to appear, there is no Egyptian who inclines towards them. Rather, there is only those who hate them, wish for their destruction, and desire to act against them. But delusion magnifies fear and chains resolve. The people of Egypt act as if they have forgotten the reasons that enabled the English to enter their land; they imagine that the Egyptians were

united in resisting the English, and that English power overcame them all. As if the Egyptians have forgotten what was among them, and that the English only entered because of their help. This is the strange delusion. Those who, two years ago, were the cause of the English troops prevailing and settling in the Nile Valley—if not for them, their foot would not have been established there—now imagine that those troops are capable of subduing all the inhabitants and subjecting them to British rule. With this false belief, they surrender to their enemies willingly and follow their desires hypocritically.

Why do the Egyptians not look with a reflective eye at the English power, to know that Britain, if it exerted all its effort, could not send more than twenty thousand soldiers to Egypt and Sudan? Do they not know that if the English troops are engaged in Sudan, and a light movement occurs in the Eastern Province, Beheira, and Fayoum, the English would be in disarray, their resolve would weaken, and they would be forced to leave the country to its people? May God fight delusion! The English have a naval power that cannot be denied, but the extent of that naval power is such that its effect appears only in places that cannot act more than a few miles from the sea. If we assume that the English unleash their cannons on the coasts, can they remain under the shadow of those shells forever? If the inhabitants of the interior oppose them, and they have no military land power to force them into obedience, the matter is nothing but delusion. This delusion has been stripped from the sight of the Westerners, so they know who the English are: a weak power that encroaches on the rights of the strong, a loud voice and a hollow spectre. The states have risen

to oppose them, knowing that the English have become like a single worm—weak, yet corrupting health and destroying the body. But the delusion remains among the Easterners, so that they may benefit from these movements, manage their own affairs, and not pass from one servitude to another, nor exchange one foreign master for another. O God, remove these veils of delusion, guide us to wisdom in our affairs, preserve us from misguidance, and lead us to a good end.

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Chapter Twenty-Four: Cowardice (Al-Jubn)

"Wherever you may be, death will overtake you, even if you should be within towers of lofty construction." (Qur'an 4:78)

"The death from which you flee will indeed meet you." (Qur'an 62:8)

The passing of ages has witnessed many great deeds that astonish minds and bewilder thoughts. The weak of intellect look upon them and count them as miracles, even if they are not from the times of prophethood. They consider them as violations of natural laws, even if

they are not from the challenges of the messengers. The heedless may attribute them to the movements of the celestial bodies, the spirits of the planets, or the concordance of astrological signs. The deficient among them may think they are the results of chance and coincidence, unable to perceive their true causes or understand their correctness. But those whom God has granted wisdom and guided with His guidance know that the Wise, the All-Knowing—exalted is His majesty and great is His power—has attached every event to a cause, and every acquisition to an action. He has singled out man from among all beings with a gift of intellect and a spiritual capacity, by which he manifests the wonders of things. By this capacity and gift, religious obligations are determined, and by them, praise or blame is deserved among the wise, and reward or punishment from the Most Generous, the Swift in Reckoning.

When the insightful one returns to sound reasoning, he sees in the similarity of human powers and the equivalence of human nature what indicates the approximation of minds, indeed the equality of capacities. Sound thought guides him to the fact that God's grace has prepared every human being for perfection, and has given him what makes him a source of virtuous deeds, with differences that are not apparent except to the most meticulous observation. Here is a moment of bewilderment: an innate disposition for perfection in human creation, and a universal inclination in every individual to excel in glory, to be distinguished by noble deeds, and to stand out in every field of virtue... Yet we see the greatest of human beings reduced to base stations, unable to reach what Divine care has prepared for them

and what their natural inclination urges them towards—especially if their souls are faithful to God's justice, believing in His promise and threat, hoping for reward for righteous deeds, fearing punishment for sins, and acknowledging the Day of the Great Reckoning, the Day when every soul will be recompensed for what it earned: "So whoever does an atom's weight of good will see it, and whoever does an atom's weight of evil will see it." (Qur'an 99:7-8)

What prevents the believer from action? What detains the seeker from the goal? When we investigate the causes and trace the origins, we find a cause that is the mother of all causes and the source of every flaw: cowardice. Cowardice is what has weakened the pillars of kingdoms and demolished their structures. It is what has severed the bonds of nations and dissolved their systems. It is what has weakened the resolves of kings and overturned their thrones, and enfeebled the hearts of the learned and toppled their lofty structures. It is what closes the doors of good in the faces of seekers and obliterates the landmarks of guidance for those who travel the paths of insight. Cowardice makes the soul bear the humiliations of subjugation and the pains of servitude, and makes it accept insults with patience and humiliation with endurance. It prepares the back for heavy burdens of hardship, more than what one fears from courage and boldness. Cowardice clothes the soul with a shame that is worse than death itself for every noble spirit and every high ambition. The coward sees the rough paths of humiliation as smooth, and the harshness of life in servitude as comfort and bliss.

Whoever is humiliated, humiliation becomes easy for him. The wound does not kill the pain of his humiliation; rather, he drinks the bitterness of death in every moment. But he is content with every condition, even if nothing remains for him but an eye that sees his enemies and does not see the living, and a soul that does not ascend with pure breath, and a feeling that is touched only by the pain of affliction. This is his life: he has lost everything in being content with nothing, yet he imagines he has attained his goal and achieved his desire.

What is cowardice? It is a weakness in the soul to resist anything that does not suit its condition. It is a disease of the spiritual faculties, causing a weakening of the preserving force for existence that God has made a pillar of natural life. It has many causes, but if we examine each one, we find that they all trace back to the fear of death—death, which is the end of every living being and the fate of every soul. Death has no known time nor appointed hour, but it is awaited at every moment between birth and decrepitude. None knows it except the Determiner of lifespans—exalted is His majesty: "And no soul knows what it will earn tomorrow, and no soul knows in what land it will die." (Qur'an 31:34)

The fear of death intensifies to the point of causing this fatal disease in the soul, due to heedlessness of the inevitable fate, and forgetfulness of what God has prepared for man of the good of this world and the happiness of the Hereafter, if he directs his given powers to what they

were created for. Yes, man forgets himself, imagining that what God has made a preserver of life—courage and boldness—is a path to destruction. The ignorant one imagines that in every step there is death, and in every move there is danger. Yet a single glance at the human achievements before him, and what seekers of high stations have won, and what they have overcome of difficulties in their journey, would reveal that those fears are nothing but illusions, the voices of ghouls, and the whisperings of devils that have overtaken him and bewildered him. The source of this is a veil placed over the eyes of the soul, but the causes are the love of life and the pursuit of pleasure, which are among the strongest human inclinations. However, these inclinations have been corrupted until they have weakened the souls of men and nations.

Cowardice is the trap of Satan by which he hunts the servants of God and turns them away from His path. It is the cause of every vice and the source of every blameworthy trait. There is no misery except it is its beginning, and no corruption except it is its germ. It is the shredder of communities, the cutter of bonds, the defeater of armies, the reverser of flags, and the hurler of sultans from the heavens of glory to the earth of humiliation. What keeps the seekers of perfection from the greatest works except cowardice? What keeps the hands of the base from bribery except cowardice? Perhaps you imagine the example is distant, but reflect: the fear of poverty ultimately traces back to the fear of death, which is the cause of cowardice. It is easy for you to consider this in lying, hypocrisy, and all other diseases that corrupt human life. Cowardice is a disgrace and a shame upon every possessor

of human nature, especially those who believe in God, His Messengers, and the Last Day, and who hope to receive a good reward and a noble station for their deeds.

It is fitting that the sons of the Islamic nation—by the principles of their religion—should be the furthest of people from this vile trait of cowardice. For it is the greatest obstacle to performing what pleases God, and they seek only His pleasure. The readers of the Qur'an know that God has made the love of death a sign of faith, and by it He tests the hearts of the obstinate. He says, in condemnation of those who are not believers: "Have you not seen those who were told, 'Restrain your hands, and establish prayer and give alms'? But when fighting was ordained for them, at once a party of them feared the people as they should fear God, or with even greater fear. And they said, 'Our Lord, why have You ordained fighting for us? If only You had postponed it for a short time.'" (Qur'an 4:77)

Fighting in the path of truth, and the expenditure of wealth and lives to elevate His word, is a characteristic by which believers are distinguished. The Divine Book did not suffice with the establishment of prayer, the giving of alms, and the restraint of hands, for these are matters in which believers, disbelievers, and hypocrites all share. Rather, He made fighting in the path of truth and divine justice the sole, distinguishing proof. He considered it the only pillar that is relied upon when it is neglected. Let no one imagine that the Islamic religion and cowardice can coexist in a single heart. How can this be, when

every part of this religion calls for magnanimity and protects courage? How can it be, when it commands devotion to God and detachment from all else to attain His pleasure? The believer is certain that lifespans are in the hand of God, He directs them as He wills. Fleeing from performing obligations does not increase one's lifespan, nor does boldness decrease it by a single minute. The believer does not expect for himself except one of two good things: either to live as a master, honoured, or to die as one brought near, happy, and to have his soul ascend to the Highest Heights and join the cherubim and the angels brought near.

Whoever imagines that he can be a believer while being cowardly has deceived his soul and played with his mind. His delusion has nothing to do with faith. Every verse of the Qur'an testifies against the coward, proving his claim to faith is false. For this reason, we hope that the inheritors of the prophets will speak the truth, remind the people of the verses of God, and what God has placed in them of the command for boldness to elevate His word, and the prohibition of retreating and holding back from fulfilling what God has obligated in that regard. It is likely that if the scholars were to stand up, commanding good and forbidding evil, for even a short time, and to preach to the general public by clarifying the meanings of the Noble Qur'an and reviving them in the souls of the believers, we would see for this nation what was mentioned in the hadith, and we would witness a day when it regains its glory in this world—which is the greatest glory of God. The believers, by what they have inherited from their forefathers and what is established in their hearts of the effects of their beliefs, need

only a little awakening and a small reminder, and they will rise like lions, reclaim what is lost, preserve what exists, and attain a praiseworthy station with God.

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Chapter Twenty-Five: The Earthquake of the English in Sudan

The English newspapers have reported a telegram that was received by the St. James Gazette from Dongola[39], and then they repeated it and confirmed its meaning over successive days. Its essence is that tongues in the city of Dongola and among the English armies are speaking of the approach of Muhammad Ahmad, and the talk is widespread in all the camps that he is advancing upon them, and that they are inevitably going to face a severe shock from him, the completion of which is difficult for them. This has caused anxiety and confusion to prevail among the soldiers, especially the soldiers of the Dongola province, out of fear and terror. But when they became certain of it and convinced that the Sultan is pleased with Muhammad Ahmad's actions—indeed, warnings have been issued from him to all the believers in those regions to avoid fighting this leader, and to consider the English as bitter enemies and to resist them with the resistance of the desperate.

We knew that all Muslims and all patriots considered it among the duties of their responsibility to strive to oppose the English advance and to place obstacles in their path to the extent of their power and ability, fulfilling what religion and homeland require. They do not need any sultanic command to stir them to this noble work. For the Islamic Sharia and the national ties obligate every person, in every part of the Islamic lands, to protect his homeland and defend his territory. They permit death in doing so, indeed, they make it obligatory in repelling aggressors. They call upon every person of reason to be cautious of the schemes of the deceivers, and to beware of the evil, wicked souls that appear in various forms, some of which dazzle with their apparent brilliance, stealing the minds of the unwary, and with their deceptive beauty, confusing their sight—while they are the sources of evil, the origins of corruption, and the winds of sedition and disorder. Those are the souls of foreigners and the spirits of strangers who violate the sanctity of the land, lower the affairs of the people, usurp rights, corrupt morals, and humiliate souls.

Defending the homeland is a natural matter and a worldly obligation, which the inclination to food and drink joins in its call to nature. Thus, those who undertake it are not praised, nor are they commended for performing it. Rather, their beautiful images, adorned with their virtuous qualities, shine in the pages of history when the gaze passes over the statues of the traitors who transgressed the bounds of nature and for whom statues of eternal curses have been fashioned, draped in

everlasting shame and disgrace. Thus, a thing is known by its opposite.

We do not mean by "traitor" the one who sells his country for money and hands it over to the enemy for a paltry price or for no price—for every price for which a country is sold is paltry—but rather, the traitor to the homeland is the one who is the cause of a single step that the enemy takes in the land of the homeland. Indeed, the one who allows the enemy's foot to rest on the soil of the homeland while he is able to shake it—that is the traitor, in whatever guise he appears and in whatever form he turns. The one who is able to express an idea or devise a plan to disrupt the enemy's movements and then fails to do so is a traitor. The one who cannot act but is able to advise and then is negligent in his advice has betrayed. The one who postpones today's work to tomorrow and is slow to mislead the enemy's schemes with word or deed has committed the sin of treason. Every traitor to his homeland or his creed is cursed by the tongues of the prophets and messengers, and is detested in the eyes of the entire world.

How great is the crime of treason! Time, with all its length, comes upon everything and erases its effect and obliterates its trace—except the stain of treason, which the ages do not fold away, nor do the passage of years conceal. The names of the great, the kings, and the sultans have been erased, but the names of the traitors have never been erased. If the punishment of the traitor were merely worldly, its disgrace would be enough, and its evil would be sufficient, and the

curse of the truthful God, and the hatred of the creatures, and the indignation of the hearts and feelings that sense the greatness of his crime—this is enough. Let us return to our subject.

We were certain, and still are, that the Imperial Person, who is the greatest father of all Muslims, and the guarantor of the Sharia and the preserver of the religion, is the most deserving of people to pay attention to the movements of the enemies in the Islamic lands. He spares no effort in obstructing their progress and thwarting their schemes. It is impossible for the Sultan's heart to be at ease while he sees that a great nation—one of the most loyal nations in allegiance to him and in submission to his authority—has fallen under foreign rule. The English have reached such a degree of transgression that the chests of the Ottomans, the rulers of the Muslims, are constricted with grief, and their hearts overflow with rage. Their actions against the Ottoman, Islamic, and Egyptian rights have become unbearable, and the patience of the Ottomans has worn thin, and their resolve has melted away.

O Egyptians! This is your land, your wealth, your honour, the doctrines of your religion, your morals, and your Sharia. The enemy has seized the reins of control over them by treachery and stealth. The enemy crept towards you under the banner of love, then turned his back to you and seized with his oppressive hand your public affairs—military, financial, administrative, and judicial—leaving you nothing but deprivation from serving your homeland, while you are

most deserving of it and have long defended it in past days. This is while he has not yet secured himself from the attacks of foreign politics, nor has he erased the internal forces. He seeks to win hearts to himself and to gather all his strength. How will it be when his feet are firmly planted, his banners are established, and the field is clear of opponents? What do you hope for from his continuation, and what do you expect from letting him have free rein? What do you fear in opposing him and restraining his hand? As for hoping for good from him, that is a false illusion and a vain fancy. You have seen that he has corrupted your affairs, disturbed your comfort, deprived your men of service, impoverished thousands of families, given your lands to your enemies, harmed your general interests—agriculture, trade, and industry—closed the doors of livelihood in your faces, and set out to interfere in what concerns your religious affairs (like endowments). He has set out to break your barrier and remove your strength by dismissing your soldiers. These are the beginnings of his actions. How will the end be? So what do you fear from him? Do you fear that your wealth and the fruits of your earnings will diminish if you fulfil the rights of your homeland and fight your enemy? Perhaps this thought crosses the mind of some of you, and it is a strange thought indeed. You are already, by your inaction, falling into what you fear: wealth and fruits have diminished, tears have flowed, and regrets have increased. If you increase in submission, your enemy will increase you in loss and expand your ruin and devastation. If the enemy's foot is firmly established among you, no wealthy person will remain except he will become poor, and no great one except he will become contemptible. If you wish, look at your future in the mirror of your present, and read your condition in the histories of those who preceded you.

Do you fear that if you perform your duties, death will come to you? This delusion may pass through the imagination of some of you. But let them know that your enemy at this time is weak in resolve, feeble in power, and the states are aligned against him, waiting every moment to call him to account for his actions and to punish him for the consequences of his conduct. Then he fears you as he fears the states, or even more. He is rushing in his march, moving towards his goal with all possible speed, to establish for himself a firm settlement and a secure base. It is not hidden from you that the one who rushes in his running will be tripped by a pebble on the road. If you were to show, at this time, a light resistance, or a small opposition, or if you were to manifest your aversion and displeasure at his conduct among you, and declare it openly, you would see his might dissolve like a mirage, his cloud dissipate like a passing haze, and his sword become blunt. You would stop his advance and stand over his weakness with your strength. You would give the states a strong argument to restrain him and curb his arrogance, and to compel him to respect public and private rights, and to remove the power of action from the hand of his tyranny, and to entrust it to an authority that preserves the balance between your rights and the rights of all Europe.

But if you leave your enemy until he reaches his destination, and grows strong in his affair, and subdues Sudan, and surrounds the upper lands of Egypt with his armies—may God not grant him that—it will then be difficult to teach him his limits and to stop him at his bounds.

The argument of the states against him will weaken. The strongest argument for the states against him is his inability to fulfil what he undertook of establishing comfort and reforming what he imagined to be flawed in Egypt. If your enemy, by your inaction, is able to demonstrate his ability and prove his competence for the authority over you, then he will have won sovereignty over you, and your blood, wealth, and all the affairs of your life will be in the grip of his tyranny.

It is within your power now to harm your enemy, while he has no power to harm you. If time passes, the situation reverses, and you become incapable of resisting him, while he holds the rod of might to humiliate you. If you fear death or humiliation, is it now far from you? Are not innocent people taken from you on false charges, and humiliated, and many of them killed? This enemy of yours will hold you to account for the thoughts of your hearts and the movements of your blood in your bodies, and will do to your brothers in lands other than your lands, and will not spare any of you. Today you are masters of your own affairs, and this is his intention towards you. It is in your power to seek God's help in fortifying yourselves against a future danger without immediate harm. So if you wish, have mercy on yourselves. Otherwise, you are falling into what you fear.

Know that the courageous one is beloved even to his enemy, and the coward is hated even to his father and mother. You know that no people have humbled themselves, and no nation has been humiliated by its own submission. Why do you consider yourselves in a lower

degree than others? Are you not similar in creation to your enemies? Are you not distinguished from them by true faith and sound beliefs? Do you not trace yourselves back to those heroes who subdued nations and ruled over peoples? Do you not claim that you are the noblest in lineage and the most honourable in essence? If you rise to demand your rights, will more befall you than your enemies? If death is feared, they fear it too. If loss is feared, they dread it too. They suffer as you suffer, and you hope from God what they do not hope. Why should your enemy risk his wealth and blood to conquer what is not his? And for what reason should you not give a little of your courage to preserve what is yours? This is truly astonishing!

Shall we remind you of the words of your poet: "The noble soul is not safe from harm, until blood flows around its gullet." This is not the place for reminding, nor the time for competing in glory and racing to high matters. The matter now is simply the defence of life and the preservation of the necessities of livelihood. If the pursuit of high ambition and the loftiness of resolve do not stir you, then let the vision of the future misery—whose beginnings you have seen, and God forbid you experience its end—stir you. I seek God's forgiveness. We still hope for courage, magnanimity, and nobility in you. Your religion still expects from you zeal and protectiveness to ward off its calamity. The Prophet (peace be upon him) awaits, in what is presented to him of your actions, a rise to elevate the word of truth and rescue it from the clutches of its enemies. God, in His majestic might, will not leave you in your current state until He distinguishes the truthful among you and knows the patient. "O you who have believed, be supporters of

God." (Qur'an 61:14) "And do not weaken, and do not grieve, and you will be superior if you are believers." (Qur'an 3:139)

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News Section — Chapter 1: Britain's Policy in the East

Panic for what is in the house, so panic to close the door—then the door panel broke and the wall collapsed from its foundation. This is the state of Britain in India and the Suez Canal[34]. Its utmost desire is to be secure from this danger, and it was easy for it to secure the rights of those who had authority over it, so that they would protect it with their lives and wealth, and then it would reap its benefits forever. But the armies of delusions and the terrors of nightmares drove it to undertake its protection itself. Then the matter became more difficult than could be achieved, and the foundation of the house was weaker than to endure.

After Britain had taken root in Egypt, it wanted to bring it under its protection, to replace the national troops with English ones, and to establish an independent sultanate in Sudan. It attempted to satisfy the Egyptians by saying that this was a necessity for organizing their affairs and establishing peace among them, and to calm the Ottomans

by preserving rights and reducing burdens. Everyone could have welcomed this great service if it had been completed. Were it not for Britain's division of the Timurid kingdoms in India and its establishment of a garrison for each part, which was the greatest and smallest cause of its control over the Indian regions. We deeply regret the disparity between the two times and the difference between the two places. Neither can English generosity be perfected, nor can the Ottomans and Egyptians welcome its attainment. The danger of both matters is not insignificant.

The Mahdist claim appeared in Sudan, and the strength of its claimant grew with the English rush to interfere in Egypt under the pretext of protecting the door to India. The matter of the caller became grave after he shed abundant blood, and the spirit of his call spread to the shores of the Red Sea and the natural borders of Egypt, inclining hearts towards him due to their aversion to English authority. It is close to conjecture that his breaths have mingled with the hearts of the Arabs in the wastelands of Tripoli, or have come near; and that these fires, which he ignites by weeping over religion and lamenting its degradation, will soon send a spark to the Arabian Peninsula, where the wailing of religion and its lamentation will rise to the heavens. Then the door to India will be between the tongues of fire from two sides, indeed from three sides. Is it far from reason, while Britain is preoccupied with saving the door, that the fires burn in the house?

Today the danger is greater than what it was previously concerned with repelling. What means has it taken to repel this calamity? It sent Gordon Pasha[26] to Sudan to disperse the word of the fighters and to bribe Muhammad Ahmad. The Sudanese have not forgotten their wounds from Gordon's oppression during his time as a tyrannical ruler over them. They know that he is the bitterest enemy of the Islamic religion, for while among them he requested priests from Suez to spread Protestantism among their Muslims. Can English eloquence cleanse Arab hearts of religious and worldly enmity, after years of its establishment, in a matter of days? Can it easily satisfy Muhammad Ahmad, after he has risen with such a great call, by granting him the title of Amir of Kordofan? Or can the claimant of such a cause be satisfied with such a title after he has achieved conquests and taken control of those lands without Gordon's permission? Such delusions may be entertained by one who has no knowledge of the reality of the Mahdist claim and its place in the hearts of Muslims. It is enough to reveal some of what is hidden, what the English and French newspapers have agreed upon and what official intelligence has confirmed of Gordon's failure in his efforts, as you will see elsewhere.

Five thousand—or according to some reports, four thousand—soldiers were led under the command of General Graham to the shores of the Red Sea to restore the honour of Baker Pasha. The English officers were furious (as for Hicks Pasha and his army, let them be far from the sea—they have no honour nor vengeance). This highly trained, well-equipped, fully armed army of the finest design defeated three thousand naked Arab Sudanese (meaning they killed eight hundred

Bedouins), and the tribes, with their partisanship, have not yet broken. Is this how disasters are repelled? Does any sane person imagine that a commander who once defeated ten thousand soldiers and two thousand five hundred on another occasion—all under the command of famous officers of the English army—would have his resolve weakened by the defeat of a small group of his followers? Does this cause any weakness in the belief of those who adhere to his cause? Glory be to God! The victory of this army caused a tremor in England, and its government imagined it was a success, and perhaps this delusion arose from the congratulations it received from the states and their ambassadors, which not even Napoleon I or the German Emperor received.

I say, and by the truth of what I say, the blaze is severe. If left unchecked, it will spread and terrify the near and the far. It is not within Gordon's power, nor any other cunning politician in England, to extinguish its blaze. The British skirmishes only make it burn more fiercely. It can only be extinguished by the men of resolve among the Ottomans and Egyptians, for they are of the same kind as the claimant and hold its reins.

It would have been wise of the English, if they were content to protect the door to India with the aid of the Ottomans and the submission of the Egyptians, along with British power, and had attended to repairing the Indian fence from the northern side. What would it profit them to close the door if the foundation weakened, the walls collapsed, and the

roof fell in? The Turkmen tribes of Merv, being of the Sunni persuasion, have joined the Russian state after their submission, preferring it to the Persian government, which is opposed to them in sect. What prevents the Turkmens of Sarakhs, who are Sunnis, from following their example, escaping the Persian government, which is opposed to them in sect? If this happens, it opens the road for the Russians from Farah to Qain to Sistan. What force can prevent them from their ambition? And if they settle in Sistan or Farah, what obstacle lies between them and India? The Uzbek tribes of Maimana, Andkhoi, Sheberghan, Sarbul, and all the lands of Balkh to Bamiyan are weary of the Afghan government. Will they not follow the example of their Turkmen cousins? If they are heedless, Russia will open for them a door of kindness and lead them through the paths of gentle politics to entice them into its protection and to free themselves from the yoke of the Afghans. The Afghan government lacks the power to restrain them if they wish, due to its weakness over them. The Hazara tribes, being Shia, living in the mountains extending from Herat to Kabul, seek pretexts to rebel against the Afghan government, resenting Sunni rule. They were allied with the English in the recent war between the English and the Afghans. Will they not be inclined to follow their neighbours who have joined the Russians, especially when the glimmers of Russian promises shine for them? All this will happen, and Russia will then overlook the vast field extending from Herat to Qandahar to Ghazni, indeed to Kabul, from many sides. Will India's fence remain after this? Can any barrier be placed in the face of Russia to prevent its advance? Will guarding the two windows of the Suez Canal be of any use at that time? Is it not easier for the Russians, when they overlook those positions, to sow discord among the Afghan

tribes and the candidates for the Emirate, and to take parties from them as they did with the Khans of the Crimea?

Russia has drawn closer to Germany and Austria in these days, and a treaty has been concluded between them for the preservation of peace in Europe for a period not short. This rapprochement was not based on what politicians in each state imagine according to their interests. Rather, Russia saw that the time was time for action in Asia, so it sought peace from its European borders to devote itself to its purposes on the borders of India. The alarm of this sudden shift has appeared in all the English newspapers. The English have been deceived by their greed and their ignorance of what threatens them of great danger, and they have fallen into the trap of the Egyptian question. For what they feared from Egypt was pure delusion. When they entered it, they ignited a sedition that no one could have imagined, and then they were unable to treat it. We think, as the Ottoman ministers claim, that the English cannot break its force by themselves. They must one day turn to the men of resolve among the Ottomans and Egyptians. And to God is the final outcome of all affairs.

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The government of this country, in the first quarter of the past century (the Hijri century), was considered to be of the type of the Sharifian government. Historians of that time would regard it as being of a degree whose nature was not clearly defined, and whose reality was beyond the reach of investigation. When they spoke of it in approximation, they said: it was an ancient style that was known in most parts of the Ottoman Empire, and then time became amazed by its wonders after its affairs were entrusted to Muhammad Ali Pasha. Not long after that, it entered a new phase of civilization, and a simple form of systematic government appeared in it, and it advanced in this above all Eastern kingdoms without exception. This rapid progress was counted among the wonders of the age.

Was it within anyone's reckoning that the reins of government in Egypt would be taken over by a man from one of the villages of Rumelia, who had not sat in the halls of learning nor been forged in the workshops of politics? Yet the gifts of nature were more abundant in him than the fruits of education, and they created in him the desire for greatness and the ambition to reach the goal he inclined towards.

We have mentioned a small part of his affairs, and today we have come to speak of his successors and the fate of his kingdom. The

memory of that time faded, and the knowledge of the world spread throughout its regions. The principles of sound knowledge spread in its lands, its regions became connected, and its parts were linked by the railways and telegraph lines that were established. Its inhabitants came to know one another, and the southerner mixed with the northerner, and the easterner with the westerner. The sense of national brotherhood grew strong among them, after they had been, due to the distance between their regions, as if they were sons of different countries. They communicated in their dealings, shared in benefits, and the sectarian differences became moderated, so that each one had a time when his relationship with the other was at its best. Their voices were raised, and their thoughts began to move.

From the land of Egypt, springs of wealth burst forth. Its lands flourished and overflowed, and its goodness extended to the neighbouring Eastern regions. Indeed, the flow of its Nile reached the lands of the West. Foreigners came to it, seeking gain from every place, and none who came to it failed, nor did any who sought profit in it despair. The number of its people increased, and the elements of its population multiplied, so that the one entering it would imagine he was under the Tower of Babel at the time of the confusion of tongues. Security prevailed, comfort spread, and it rivalled, in all its conditions, the great European kingdoms. The observer of this course would judge—and perhaps his judgment was not far from reality—that it was destined to be the first of the Eastern kingdoms in civilization and prosperity. Indeed, this was a settled matter in the minds of its neighbours, the inhabitants of the surrounding countries.

But then, fate intervened. The ruler stumbled, the wealthy one erred, the conceited one stumbled, the foolish one became reckless, and the cunning one became weak. The distant drew near, and the near became distant. What befell Egypt was something that had no precedent except in the margins of the pages of delusion. There is no power nor might except with God.

The government's administration was burdened with what was not of its own making. Its structure shook with what was unfamiliar to it. Doors and passages were opened for intrigues among the classes of people—cunning politicians and seekers of ends. Connections were severed, ties were cut, the deterring authority weakened, obedience was cast aside, and the fires of sedition blazed. A decree descended upon that country, so it needed, to restore its former state, a sound opinion, a firm resolve, and a strong deterrent to which souls would submit. Among those who had rights in it, there was one who combined these qualities and held the highest place in hearts. It would have been easy for him to undertake what was entrusted to him. But a deluded ambition erred, and a false conjecture missed its mark. The result fell short, and the need became more acute.

Britain became concerned for the road to India—as they say—or it imagined that advancing a few steps had now come. So it saw that restoring security and establishing peace in Egypt was among its

duties. What followed was destruction, demolition, killing, hanging, imprisonment, exile, fining, and all that needs no explanation. Various types of humiliation spread, until no one whose name was known remained untouched by its harm, except a few individuals. These terrors, despite their severity, did not achieve the goal of securing the road to India, for it was threatened from another direction. Nor did they bring what was hoped for of order in the country.

Is finance not the focus of the attention of the European states? And no system was established in the country, nor any change made with their consultation, except to protect the treasury from its inability to pay what was due to Europe. Today, it has been struck by a deficiency in revenue, burdened with four million pounds in compensation for the damages of war, and afflicted with the expenses of the occupying army, the war in Sudan, its evacuation, and what is added to all this of the lingering costs of the occupation. What disaster is greater for the treasury than its present calamities?

They resolved to abolish the national army, which is the strength of the country and its pride, as if there were no way to organize the troops of Egypt, and as if effort had fallen short of imitating Muhammad Ali Pasha and Ibrahim Pasha, who subdued many regions with Egyptian troops. If all these hardships, calamities, increased expenditures, and the abolition of the national army are taken as a means for the comfort of the people and the improvement of their conditions, then how excellent the means would be if they led to their

ends! But where is the path to the goal, and where are these preparations from those ends? Alas for the state of the people after this!

The rule of one whose judgment cannot be challenged has expelled thousands of national employees who were the pillars of the government. No one knows what happened to them, and they have no livelihood except the salaries of their families. They were not accustomed to any work for earning except what they were raised on in government service. Have these not been touched by the harm of poverty? Have they not been bitten by the fangs of hunger? Has their hidden condition not been exposed? Have they not been straitened? Have they not become clothed in the garments of gloom, stripped of the robes of happiness? If not all of this, then most of it has happened. The echo of their groaning is recited on the pages of the national Arabic and foreign newspapers. The later ones will follow the earlier ones, until no national in the country will find any profession except what is beneath an Englishman to undertake—base and menial tasks—as is the case in India.

The balance of public authority was disturbed by the contradiction of its different forces, so the officials became confused. They imagined that no responsibility would follow them in what they did, so they let loose what was in their hands. They ruled according to their desires in performing their duties, stumbling and mixing things up. Prisons were filled with the notables of the subjects; the tails of whips were raised

to dissect their bodies; instruments of torture were used; the claws of injustice extended to strip them of the remnants of their wealth and the fruits of their earnings. A type of absolute rule occurred, a rare example. A torment was sent upon them from above and from under their feet. They were scattered into sects, and each tasted the severity of the other. God is not unaware of what the wrongdoers do.

The doors of work were closed in their official faces in the administrations; the work of the courts was disrupted; eyes were fixed on the outcome of this conflict between the ruling powers. The scope of chaos widened, and the veil of protection was lifted. The peasant no longer feared his spade; the village chief no longer feared the officer of his centre; the officer did not respect his director; and the laxity spread to the higher circles. The matter returned to the strength of the arm and the abundance of helpers. Bandits spread, and highway robbery increased in every direction. Voices rose in complaint against them in the national newspapers. Public works stopped, and people became preoccupied with affairs that diverted them from the necessities of their livelihood. Debtors refused to pay what they owed to their creditors, merchants and moneylenders withdrew their hands and hoarded their money, losing confidence and fearing the loss of their capital. They were afflicted with deprivation of profit and loss of capital in another way. The need of the peasants for what would compensate them for their livestock, which typhus had seized for ploughing, and for what they could renew or repair their agricultural tools with, and what they could use for their success, according to their usual custom—all these paths were blocked for them, and the

ways were narrowed. They found no way to meet their needs. Agriculture was ruined, its fruits diminished, and the prices of crops fell due to the confusion of conditions, to a degree that was only heard of in stories and ancient narratives before Muhammad Ali Pasha. The government's demands for taxes and dues remained as before, with increased severity in their collection. Hardship spread, poverty encompassed, thousands of commercial houses collapsed, the hands of millions of industrial workers were emptied, and the farmers were all ruined, except for a few who preserved their treasures or monopolized the wealth of others through plunder and theft.

The peasant sold the furniture of his house, indeed even what typhus had spared of his land's workers, after necessity had taken the jewellery of his wife and daughters, to pay what he owed to his government. He gained nothing of the freshness of life to preserve his existence. He returned to the primitive state, eating the food of cattle and roaming in the pastures of animals, except a few whom God knows. The misery increased with the abolishment of personal liberty, the arrest on suspicion—even if weak—and the pursuit of false accusations, even if far-fetched or impossible. Fear took hold of hearts and reached its limit. You see no one passing on the road without looking back, to see if a policeman has caught hold of his garment, leading him to prison or demanding a ransom from him. Every Egyptian of known name awaits, in every step, a fall, and in every movement, a stumble. For him, from every passerby there is astonishment, and from every knocker at his door a faint. What misery is this, for which hearts are rent by the conditions of the inhabitants of

the Egyptian land? This is only a part of what constricts the chest and tightens the souls of what they have been afflicted with, after their first loved ones had undertaken their defence and delivered them from the previous chaos. These are the beginnings of the reform that was promised long ago on the tongues of its messengers. The people have become bewildered in their wealth, lost from their guidance. They do not know what will befall them. They remember from their former conditions what the European states used to call hardship and affliction, and they used to promise them deliverance from it—now they yearn for it, as if they wished to return to it, and they count it as the height of their happiness, compared to this state they are in.

After this, can an Egyptian believe that these calamities that have befallen his country over the past twenty months were a prelude to its reform and the organization of its affairs? Yes, it may occur to one that it is a preparation for an industrial work in the Egyptian lands, such as straightening its roads, building its bridges, multiplying its canals, and strengthening its fertility, so that after a time it returns to being a paradise of the world or a garden of the Hereafter. But the people are not the subject of consideration, for if they perish, other people will inherit the land after them. If this is not the case, then let it be the completion of reform that cannot be imagined in our present time, and for which a few years are not enough, by the measure of the reform expected in the lands of Punjab: for the state has taken control of the affairs of those Eastern lands in these days, and has seized them with this pretext, and has ruled them for forty years, and its government there is still military, and it has not yet begun civil organization. So let

our Egyptian brothers wait, for we are with them among those who wait.

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News Section — Chapter 3

It appeared to the correspondent of The Times in Alexandria in these days what was apparent to all the people, their commoners and their elites alike. It was not hidden from the foolish nor the clever, nor the blind nor the seeing. Indeed, no shadow of doubt whatsoever occurred about it in any of the past times. So he telegraphed to The Times confirming what follows: that among the classes of the inhabitants there is a great multitude that rejects the authority of the English (and he was too ashamed to say "all the inhabitants"). Likewise, that they are not pleased with the sending of troops to Tokar. Indeed, their grief reached its peak when they heard of Graham's victory over the naked ones. Close to this wonder is what Granville Maurice Pasha replied when the necessity of Ottoman intervention in the events of Sudan was explained to him. He said that the Turkish forces would meet from the Egyptians the same opposition as the English troops. So take heed, O you of understanding.

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News Section — Chapter 4

A strange story reported by The Times from the English newspapers: that the current Khedive had resolved to resign from his position, but his wife opposed him in what he had resolved with the utmost opposition. When he disclosed to her what he intended, she took a pair of scissors and cut her hair, as a sign of mourning, and swore that she would not wear stockings or shoes until she was certain that he had changed his mind about this purpose. She has been walking barefoot since that time, awaiting the final decision from her husband, the Khedive. Perhaps this is one of the exaggerations of the English newspapers, or its source may be the insistence of Sir Baring upon him to request the protection of England—as many newspapers have reported—or to force him to abdicate, as other newspapers have reported.

Gordon Pasha, after having set himself up for a long time as a defender of the freedom of the Sudanese, and having frequently used that as a means to return as governor of Sudan, achieved his goal in these events. He was sent by his government on a Sudanese mission. He arrived in Khartoum[35] and began his work by contradicting his own principles: he declared the permissibility of the slave trade and abolished the year 1874-1877 (the treaties against slavery). Then he transgressed against the rights of the Sultan with various claims, including that he came as his deputy. His statements about his mission became contradictory. He claimed that he was the governor-general of the Sudanese territories by order of his government and the Egyptian government, while at the same time declaring that the Egyptian government had no further involvement in the administration of Sudan, and he recognised the Emirate of Sheikh Muhammad Ahmad over Kordofan. These were all his means to win the hearts of the Sudanese. But it was not long before the weakness of his policy became apparent to all of them, due to their prior knowledge of his character. What the English and French newspapers all agreed upon—his failure in his mission—was confirmed; for the private news coming from Khartoum all agree that the joy reported at Gordon's arrival has been erased and has turned into confusion, anxiety, and disturbance of thoughts, and that the tribes beyond Khartoum mock his proclamations and scoff at his promises and threats.

This kind of policy might be attempted by someone who does not know Gordon's character. But the Egyptians, all of them, and the Sudanese in particular, are not impressed by it, because of their prior knowledge of his ways. The truly astonishing thing is that the English government forgot that a religious revolution cannot be extinguished by the hand of one who opposes the revolutionaries in religion, form, and language, even if he is a political genius. What we have said is proven by what was reported to the Daily News: that General Gordon sent a telegram in which he stated that he was unable to help the Egyptian garrison in Sudan unless he had armies under his command on the White Nile and the Blue Nile. And what came from his conversation with the Times correspondent, where he declared to him that he could no longer do more than he had done (and he had done nothing) to establish peace among the population, and that the decision to evacuate Sudan had opened the way for Sheikh Muhammad Ahmad to incite the tribes between Berber and Khartoum. During the conversation, he also showed that he needed two regiments of troops to be sent to him from General Graham's army. Among what he said was that it was necessary to appoint Zubair Pasha[25] as his successor in Khartoum, entrusting him with the restoration of peace and the resistance against the rebels. This is a strange piece of planning on his part; for this Pasha, if he is not a believer in the Mahdist cause, has the strongest motive to agree with him—he has not forgotten what happened to his children and relatives, who were killed in cold blood, and what was plundered of his wealth by force and seizure. How then can he incline to help the Egyptian government in subduing those who rebelled against it?

News Section — Chapter 6

General Graham, the commander of the English army in the Suakin[36] region, sent proclamations to the tribal chiefs, promising them, threatening them, and warning them to separate themselves from Uthman Digna. And to Uthman he thundered, flashed, raged, and threatened, demanding his surrender. The reply came from Uthman, refusing the demand and preparing for war. Replies were received from twenty-one tribal sheikhs, stating that there is no intermediary between the English and their helpers on one side, and the Sudanese tribes on the other, except the sword. They then said that everyone who does not believe in the Mahdi's cause will inevitably be a prey to death and a morsel for destruction.

General Graham was thus compelled to repeat his threats once more in the same manner, and it is likely the answer will be the answer. The English newspapers reported that Sheikh al-Mirghani (a sheikh of a Sufi order among the Muslims) sent a letter to Uthman Digna, summoning him to obedience and warning him against resisting the English troops. Uthman Digna replied that he is determined to drink the blood of the English and everyone who helps them, for he fights with the sword of Islam. In the conclusion of his reply, he advised

al-Mirghani and asked him to guide the English to abandon war and lay down their arms, which is more fitting for him than advising the sheikhs of the Arab and Islamic tribes.

News Section — Chapter 7: The Egyptian Question

The Egyptian question has been coloured in England with several colours since its inception. Every time it was presented to minds in a certain hue, they imagined it to be the best thing in the world. But when time passed, that hue faded and was replaced by a new one. In all these transitions, it only becomes more complicated, and England only becomes more entangled in resolving it. Mr. Gladstone wished to follow in his policy the path of his English predecessors—to creep towards his goal with deliberation and caution, and to twist and turn in his path through various convolutions. He saw that taking the straight path was not dictated by wisdom nor sanctioned by prudence, until he reached his goal and traversed the difficult road without leaving a trace to be followed. Or perhaps he was as they claimed, or as he claimed and proclaimed in the days of Beaconsfield, that he did not incline towards conquests, and his concern was to keep England away from involvement in foreign affairs by military force. But the Egyptian events forced him to abandon his principles and to transform himself

into something he was not. His opinions became contradictory, and he wavered in his actions. He proceeded in the manner of one stumbling blindly, and as a result of his venture into politics, the paths became rugged for his government in achieving what it desired. Disagreement arose between him and the rest of the ministers over what should be followed afterwards. Now, they are in a dilemma between adhering to his political doctrine and resigning from office, or deviating from it and exposing themselves to the censure of the wise and falling from their position in the hearts of their parties. This dilemma has paved the way for his opponents from the Conservative Party to work for his downfall from his political position and to bring him down from the chair of the ministry.

What permitted Mr. Gladstone to abandon his path and intervene in Egypt with military force was his claim that the country needed the establishment of order, deliverance from the chaos of anarchy, and that it was in England's interest to undertake its relief from its predicament. He thus extended his hand to establish the rules of justice, to rescue the government from weakness, and to restore security to the country. He imagined that this goal could be achieved by demolishing the towers of Alexandria and establishing himself in the barracks of Cairo, thereby earning a reward, or acquiring a new kingdom, or preserving an important interest, with covert actions, little expense, and not too many words. But unfortunately, success did not favour him in achieving his desire. The seditions followed one another, and their blaze rose high until it stung him and alerted him to what he had never imagined. He was forced to send troops and to continue wars. Yet,

despite this, the government he had helped did not support him. Muhammad Ahmad did not cease his call, nor did Uthman Digna's resolve weaken with these successive blows. All the newspapers agreed that he had proclaimed a holy war, and that he was gathering the scattered Arabs to add them to his tribe, and that he would attack the English for a third time. The reporters confirmed that Muhammad Ahmad had previously announced that he would be defeated twice before achieving complete victory over the English, and these defeats only strengthened belief in him and united the people around him—there is no power nor might except with God.

These difficulties have disturbed the thoughts of Parliament and stirred the feelings against the Gladstonian ministry. The head of the ministry feared the consequences of the deliberations on the Egyptian questions, so he absented himself from the sessions for several days. The Minister of War took his place in expressing the ministry's views. It was understood from some of his speeches that it was the government's intention to preserve the Egyptian ports with its troops, to settle in the east of Sudan, and to reform the Egyptian administration—as you will see elsewhere. The opposition in the Conservative Party used this speech as a proof against the government, reproaching it for its previous weakness and its resort to abandoning its policies at this time. It was not Gladstone's opinion that the government should openly declare its intentions and reveal its plans in a clear manner. Disagreement arose between him and the Minister of War, and many members of the cabinet, on several issues concerning the Egyptian question. The disagreement increased in

intensity due to Gladstone's inclination to appease the Irish and the rest of the ministers' aversion to his desire. The prime minister remained firm in his opinions, preferring resignation to leniency on any of them. From this, it became likely that there would be a cabinet reshuffle or a dissolution of Parliament. The Times and the Daily News, which is semi-official, confirmed this. The latest news agreed that Gladstone's ministry is in danger. If the English ministry is overthrown, and another takes its place, from whichever party, what can it possibly do to resolve the Egyptian question and to extricate itself from this predicament?

There are two possibilities: either to undertake military movements on the borders of the eastern Sudan for months, while maintaining communication between Suakin, Berber[37], and Khartoum becomes impossible; or, if they request Indian troops, as the telegram suggested, the Indians would realise, through the repeated demands for troops from India, the weakness of British power, and they would dare to rise up... During this period, which is not short, Muhammad Ahmad and his followers would be able to gather their forces and gain such strength that the Indian troops would find it difficult to resist. Indeed, they are now close to what we are saying. The reliable news indicates that the situation in the upper Nile is not satisfactory to the English government; the regions adjacent to Khartoum are in a state of intense eruption. Hope of opening the road between Berber and the capital of Nubia has been cut off. Muhammad Ahmad has been busy for about a month gathering a great force, helped in its organisation by officers of the General Staff, including twelve Europeans and sixty

Egyptian officers who survived Hicks's army. The Daily News reported all of this, and the Foreign Secretary of England admitted that communication between Shendi and Khartoum is cut off, and that he has not received any news from Gordon since the 11th of this month. If this grave crisis is left to English power, we think it will only crack the wall of India—as we explained in the last issue—and will destroy all that is called European interests in Egypt (and so let it be). We do not think that the European states will allow their interests in the Egyptian territories to be lost, especially some states that were competing with England in the Nile Valley, and whose standing there was diminished by English intervention, which has no known limits or determined goals. This is what the French ministerial newspaper Le Temps points out, when it says that England cannot place Egypt under its protection without settling accounts with Europe. The St. Petersburg Gazette also highlights this, stating that Russia has no intention of initiating any action in Egypt, for England has always acknowledged that the Egyptian questions have an international character. Based on this, nothing can be decided in them except by European agreement. This is only if England is able to extinguish the seditions and abort the revolutions, and is capable of fulfilling what it has undertaken. Then, at the end, it will be called to account by Europe according to what is required by the interests of every state. But if it fails—as is most likely—or if time drags on, while it is between victory and defeat, and does not advance in its military movements beyond the seashores, then there is no doubt that anxiety will spur the states to seek other means than what England has prepared. We see, and time will judge for us, God willing, that the preservation of European rights, the control of the Egyptian lands, and

the extinguishing of the fires of sedition there cannot be achieved except by the hands of its own people—and God does what He wills.

News Section — Chapter 8: The English in Sudan

All the telegrams received from Suakin agree that the English troops attacked Uthman Digna's camp in the eighth (of the month), divided into two squares. After a reconnaissance party had left, the Arabs fell upon them with a large number, with the courage of lions, and entered the first square, which was the vanguard. A terrible slaughter took place there, and the English troops retreated, leaving their cannons behind, after a great number of them had been killed by the spears and lances of the Arabs. However, a company of marines came from the centre and filled the gap that had occurred in the ranks of the troops from the Arab attacks, and they repelled the force of the attackers. No sooner had the English squares recovered and returned to the attack than the armies of Uthman Digna attacked them with great ferocity, swooping down on them from both flanks. A fierce battle raged, and the Arabs threw themselves upon death, scorning life, preferring martyrdom to retreat and surrender. The reports all agreed that the Arabs displayed indescribable courage and bravery, so much so that even the English themselves said: "We have never seen anything like

this in any of our military campaigns." As for the number of killed from both sides, the reports varied. Some put the Arab dead at three thousand, others at less. Then the official news came—and you know what official news is and how it exaggerates in killing its enemies—stating that it was two thousand. As for the English dead, they exaggerated their smallness, putting them at two or three hundred, after they admitted that the Arabs had inflicted terrible losses on them.

In any case, the battle ended with the Arabs withdrawing to their mountains, and the English troops returned with the utmost speed to Suakin, abandoning the positions they had occupied. The Arabs flocked to their leader Uthman, and they gathered at the site where they had been attacked, in a force that emboldened him to raise his head high and declare his readiness to attack the English troops, and that he would not accept surrender. If this battle could be measured by the English rejoicing, the raising of the victory cry, and the declaration that the English troops had won the highest honour a soldier can win in combat, then the speed of the retreat is clear evidence that this organised army was unable to hold its ground on the battlefield, and that it feared destruction if it remained there, so it returned to the seashore. As if the battle was nothing more than a charge followed by a retreat, which some newspapers counted as a defeat and considered a great mistake, because it emboldened the Arabs to remain on the road connecting Suakin to Berber, and to cut it off from those who travel it. We do not agree with them on this, but we consider it a clear failure to resist the naked ones in their mountains.

How similar this action of the English is to their action about twenty years ago, when they were fighting on the borders of India the troops of Prince Abdullah al-Wahhabi and Khondaswat. After he had been severely defeated in the mountains of Swat and Buner, he returned and entered a small village in those mountains, surprising it by night, and set it on fire, killing all its inhabitants, and turned back to his country in India that very night, announcing that he had killed, plundered, taken spoils, and won! Let those who would take heed do so.

It seems that General Graham, by this action, did not intend to extinguish the sedition in the Egyptian lands, but rather to restore the honour of the English troops, to avenge some of those who had been killed previously, and to establish a proof to Europe that the English troops are capable of fighting the naked ones and attacking them. Yes, he did not neglect planning altogether. The newspapers reported that he put a price on Uthman Digna's head and offered a thousand English pounds for anyone who brought him in. What a plan! But it is feared that when Uthman hears this news, he will put a price on the General's head and offer a hundred qintars of ivory for anyone who brings him in, making the danger to the General even greater!

Then the English newspapers—as is their custom in promoting their government's policy in wars—reported that after the General returned to Suakin, he called the notables of the tribes and mentioned the

establishment of peace among the Sudanese population, and asked them to pledge themselves to it. They replied that it was impossible for them without the help of the English troops. They also said that they found strange the General's proclamation offering a reward for Uthman's head for a thousand English pounds. We do not think this of the Arabs, as it contradicts their nature and their morals, which are averse to submitting to foreigners. This has never been seen among them from the day of their Arab origin to this day. After finishing his talk with them, he began to disparage Uthman, as those newspapers reported, for he had not succeeded in capturing him—calling him a liar and a traitor to his country and his countrymen, for it was he who had exposed them to bloodshed and the loss of lives. We have already mentioned this regarding a story of an Afghan commander who offered himself to serve the English in the recent Afghan war. They gave him large sums of money to help him in his work, but he took what he took and distributed it among his people, preparing them to attack the English and to inflict harm on them, and he achieved much from them. After they had tasted his evil, they began to publish proclamations and make announcements that this man was of little fidelity, a betrayer of covenants, who would not keep his word nor fulfil his promise—whereas fidelity is the fulfilment of the duty to one's homeland, the defence of it, and the protection of its honour. Any covenant that contradicts this is denied by conscience and rejected by truthfulness, whatever it may be.

This is the legend of General Graham's affair. As for General Gordon, some English newspapers reported that he is in danger and that there is

great concern in Egypt about him. This news is supported by the refusal of the British Minister of War to reveal the correspondences that took place between him and the General, for fear of their effect on the public mind. The Daily News reported, based on a telegram it received, that Zubair Pasha declared his readiness to succeed Gordon Pasha in Sudan, and that he thinks it is impossible to restore security to that country except by peaceful means, and that he cannot express his opinion on the Mahdi before corresponding with him, and that he doubts the Sudanese belief in his prophethood (so he said). Among what he said was that the slave trade could be abolished gradually when the Sudanese begin to understand the benefits and advantages of civilisation. Then he denied what was spread about him of hatred for General Gordon. Yes, Zubair Pasha does not hate the General at this time, as long as he is in Cairo. But if he reaches Sudan, it is possible that what hatred drives him to do will cause a serious incident, and it may be more severe than what is imagined.

News Section — Chapter 9: The Echo of the Sudanese Call

A telegram was received from Tashkent to the English newspaper The Standard, stating that a great disturbance had occurred in the thoughts

of the Muslims of Bukhara when the news of the victory of the Sudanese Arabs and their first triumph reached them, and a new caller appeared among them, urging war and the fighting of those who plunder Islamic lands to expand their kingdoms. And they proclaimed that the coming of the Ottoman Caliph was expected, and that he was the one who would raise the green banner (to overcome and confront the aggressors). This is clear proof of what we warned about previously: that the Mahdist claim in Sudan, in these times when Muslims have been struck by events similar to those that occurred in the fifth and sixth centuries of the Hijra, will call for a movement in the East and the West, and it will be difficult for the English, as it progresses, to avoid being shaken by its terrors. Especially given the religious demonstration in the lands governed by a stronger and more apparent authority. The lands of Bukhara are separated from Sudan by long distances and vast expanses, and the observer of the map of geography would think that communication between them is cut off. Yet the zeal spread between the two regions with great speed. So what do you think of lands that are closer to the source of the call and nearer in reach? It is likely that the spirit has descended upon them, but it moves with the movement of the mind and grows according to natural laws and political and doctrinal laws. The powerful do not feel it until the weak have already reached their very throats, and the earth is God's earth, which He causes to be inherited by whomever He wills of His righteous servants.

If events facilitate the emergence of what is hidden and pave the way for the revelation of what is concealed, what means can be taken to

protect the small number from the guile of the vast majority, which cannot be resisted? What could resist it in past ages? We think there is no means for this except to hand over the matter to its rightful owners and to enter into it from its door, and to leave it to the Muslims to satisfy one another and to defend each other with their strength. If this is the end of the path, then it is a political error not to begin with it before the distress intensifies and the crisis becomes great—and God is the Guide to the path of righteousness.

News Section — Chapter 10

The thoughts of the English politicians have become confused in blaming the government for its Egyptian policy. Lord Salisbury said in one of the great assemblies: The English government, with the twist of its policy, has fallen into the depths of the Egyptian question, and the Egyptian question has become a matter of the greatest importance. He considered that Gordon's proclamation regarding the slave trade was a grave error, and said: It is not possible for Mr. Gladstone to permit the slave trade on the banks of the Nile while he prohibits it on the shores of the Red Sea (and it would have been better for him to permit it in all places, as it is impossible to absolutely prevent it). The Pall Mall Gazette reported that an advisor of the Anti-Slavery Society in London

sent a letter to Lord Granville, on behalf of the members of the Society, holding him responsible for appointing Zubair Pasha as governor of eastern Sudan, and that the Society agreed that the English government's assistance to a man like Zubair Pasha brings it shame and disgrace in the eyes of Europe. The Daily News said: The truth is that the confusion in Egypt's finances has troubled the British Ministry and prompted it to seek a way to bring money into Egypt, for it is in dire need of it. It is confirmed that the English government will present its ideas to Parliament on this matter. It is likely that what it presents will be related to guaranteeing the Egyptian loan (i.e., placing Egypt formally under English protection). However, a considerable number of liberals in Parliament have declared that they would not accept any idea presented to them on this matter. Nevertheless, this newspaper denied what was circulated in financial circles, that the English government intended to prepare a loan for Egypt of eight million pounds at three and a half percent interest.

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News Section — Chapter 11: The English Parliament

A session of the English Parliament was held a few days ago, which Mr. Gladstone did not attend, because he was ill (or pretending to be ill, fearing the consequences of the deliberations). He was replaced in

speaking by Hartington, the Minister of War. He began by requesting funds for the expenses of the English army's occupation of the Egyptian territories, and he explained the reasons for his request. He was opposed by Monsieur Labouchère (who is from the Liberal Party, which refuses England's entry into any war), who demanded a reduction in the amount requested by the Minister of War. Then the discussion turned to the Egyptian question, and the heat of the debate intensified. The speakers spoke about its past, present, and future, and pointed out the mistakes committed by the government in its policy, and what measures should now be taken for deliverance. Lord Northcote (the leader of the opposition to the government's policy) said: The speech of the Minister of War indicated a great change in the ministry's thinking. We have learned from his speech that it has followed public opinion in the country, submitted to the necessities of events, and abandoned its vacillating, shaky policy. It has acknowledged what it had undertaken, and agreed to fulfil it after having tried to evade it.

It was also understood from his speech that if the lands of Sudan are left to the small former sultans who are trying to restore their kingdoms and establish small emirates there, then Khartoum would be excluded, due to its importance for the peace of the Egyptian lands. Since the Red Sea is connected to the Suez Canal and linked to the route to India, England's interests require that the Egyptian ports (from Alexandria to beyond Aden, including Rashid, Damietta, Port Said, Suakin, and Massawa) be in English hands as long as the Egyptians are incapable of defending them. It became clear in his speech (the Minister of War's) that the ministry's thoughts at this time are directed towards carrying its troops over long distances in the eastern Sudan, because it knows the necessity of connecting the Red Sea coasts with

the centres that will remain in Sudan, and that they should connect Suakin with Berber and Khartoum. This opinion, expressed by the Minister of War, requires the occupation of Egypt for a longer period than previously stated. They had begun by recalling a portion of the troops and resolved to recall another portion, but now they only want to establish a civil government capable of managing itself and doing useful work for its country. After having used ambiguous language regarding Egypt, they have now stated the condition that Egypt must be in before England leaves it alone.

The Minister of War wants a stable, capable government that is worthy of the trust of its subjects and the European residents in the country, and a destination for the money brought to it (debt and loans).

The French newspaper Le Temps said, after mentioning this debate, that the English ministry has deviated from its original path, and has submitted to the force of circumstances, after its previous policy of wanting to evacuate Egypt as soon as possible. But now it has taken on a heavy burden on its finances and its foreign policy. It has not yet used the word "protection," but that is what its statements mean. It claims to be driven to it by necessity, in order to give Egypt a sound administration, an organised army, and a just judiciary. This protection extends from the north of the Delta to Khartoum, and from Khartoum to the Red Sea. But England cannot obtain this protection without settling accounts with the European states. We wish that Mr. Gladstone were free, so that he could be reminded of his previous statements, blazing with anger, full of blame and reproach against those who incline towards a policy of wars and conquests.

The Daily News—which is semi-official—said: The current (English) ministry is in danger. Last Thursday, there was talk in the House of Commons about a change, and it was stated that the ministry had no majority in the House, due to the mistakes it had made in its internal and external affairs. Then it said: The country (England) must prepare to express its views regarding the ministry and its conduct at home and abroad.

It is said in political circles that Mr. Gladstone's absence from the Council sessions on Saturday and Sunday was not due to ill health, but was a pretext and a diplomatic manoeuvre—feigning illness or diplomatic malingering has become well-known in Egypt... So let Britain look for another weapon!

News Section — Chapter 12: The Sublime Porte

If proof is needed, let it be Gaza or George Sko or Yufk... this is the strongest proof of the clearest right that exists. The correspondent of

Le Temps in Istanbul wrote a detailed article about the thoughts of the Ottoman dignitaries regarding the Egyptian question and the rights of the Sublime Porte. What he established is that the Ottomans are vexed by England's injustice and its deviation from justice in its dealings with the Sultan, and its disregard for his established rights, and its conduct in Egypt without regard for his approval. Some of the great men explained to him England's injustice and its violation of international treaties and imperial firmans, and he supported this with evidence, including what England replied to the Sublime Porte's communication to the states about two years ago, at the beginning of the Egyptian disturbances, when it said that it wished to preserve the established status in Egypt (the status quo) according to the sultanic firmans and international covenants, and that no change in it was permissible in any way except by agreement of the states. Another piece of evidence is the text of the firman appointing Tawfiq Pasha; it explicitly states that Egypt, with its natural borders and dependencies, is considered part of the Ottoman dominions, and that the Khedive is not permitted to cede any piece of land from it—whether small or large—to any foreigner, whoever he may be, for any reason or in any way. Nor is he permitted to relinquish any of the privileges granted to Egypt, whatever the reasons and events. He is not allowed to make any condition or treaty except after presenting it to the state and obtaining its approval. He is forbidden from contracting any new financial loan except in connection with the settlement of the financial issues that existed at that time. Another point is that the Suez Canal was not opened except after obtaining the permission of the Sublime Porte. So how is it permissible for England now to undertake the separation of Sudan from Egypt, to discuss the opening of another canal, to plan a new loan to be imposed on the Egyptian government,

and to take over the protection of the ports with its troops, without agreement with the Sublime Porte or consultation with the great states?

I am perplexed as to what this great man intended by establishing these arguments! Did he intend to reveal what was already perfectly clear to the European states, or to prove that England had misunderstood these firmans and treaties, or to try to convince it with proof and argument? But we know that the British government is not frightened by protest, nor intimidated by argument. It has been trained in that for a long time with Eastern kings and princes, and it has been able, in many cases, to evade objections raised against it, even if their premises were obvious. Were it not for this, The Times would not have been so vehement when it learned that Granville had asked the Sultan to send a Turkish garrison to Suakin. It vehemently denied this, saying it was inconceivable, and then made excuses that would not escape the notice of anyone, saying that England does not want to be a defender of the Sultan's rights, especially since his weakness has made him incapable of defending them himself.

News Section — Chapter 13

Every day the Englishman presents a logical proof and a dialectical argument that he only went to Egypt with the intention of establishing peace and laying down the rules of justice. But every time he arranges his premises to convince the simple-minded of his famous conclusions, the Irish oppose him with practical proofs that overturn his arrangement and invalidate his conclusion. For they place dynamite to destroy buildings, demolish bridges, and disrupt railways, and they assassinate government officials and seek every means to escape its authority, and in their course they do not weaken nor tire. A banquet was prepared for Mr. Parnell, the leader of the Irish party, attended by a large number of them, celebrating St. Patrick's Day, and many members of Parliament were among them. He gave them a speech in which he expressed his joy at the progress of the national movement in Ireland, and advised the Irish not to rely on any of the English parties, but to rely on themselves and their own efforts. He said: The time is near when the Irish nation will be under an Irish Parliament. At that time, and not before, Ireland will send a peaceful message to England. When the cups of drink were raised, the attendees refused to drink to the Queen's health. Instead, Parnell raised the first cup and toasted the nation. Thus, the English seek to annex lands to their possessions, only to have other lands separate from them. And to God belongs knowledge of the outcome.

Several months passed, and the French were waiting to see the outcome of their troops' movements in the lands of Tonkin. They were almost losing hope of a good outcome, until a telegram arrived to the Minister of War in Paris from his general in chief: that the French troops had entered Bac Ninh by a road leading to Lang Son, and that the Chinese had retreated to the regions of Ninh Binh, where the French attacks intensified against them from the north and the east, and they suffered heavy losses. Only seventy Frenchmen were wounded, and the French troops seized large quantities of ammunition and a battery of Krupp cannons, which they found in the fortress of Bac Ninh. Many French politicians thought that France had completed its work by capturing this important position. This impression was confirmed by a telegram from Bac Ninh to The Standard, stating that when the Empress of China learned of the French capture of Bac Ninh, she convened a war council to study the situation in the difficult circumstances that had arisen. The members of the council, headed by the highest officials, decided that it was necessary to make an agreement with the French government by peaceful means. In our estimation, such conquests do not console the French for their sorrows, nor do they compensate them for what they lost in Egypt. That bandage will not heal these wounds.

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A great state that once possessed such power as the whole world acknowledged, and had rights in Egypt that no one disputed, now sees its men trembling at the roar of English thunder, even if its clouds are empty, and terrified by the rumbling of those voices, bewildered as to what to do. They may sometimes act as they see fit. A state of vast ambitions claimed to be acting on their behalf in reforming the Egyptian territories and rescuing them from disorder. It took possession of them with its military forces, seized the reins of authority, dismissing and appointing, giving and withholding, making and breaking treaties, reducing their borders as it wished, and settling its troops wherever it pleased in their lands. The rightful owners of authority, with their eyes wide open and necks outstretched, see what does not please their hearts nor soothe their souls, with palpitations in their hearts and turmoil in their spirits, and burning in their entrails, fearing a bad outcome. They feel what the positions of the regions require, and the relationship between one country and its neighbours, and what is necessary for their defence. They judge that if the situation continues as they see it, the Syrian, Hejazi, and Yemeni regions will soon be in great danger, and that the history of Egypt from the time of the Pharaohs to the present calls out to them with the advice of a sincere advisor; indeed, it breathes into them the breaths of truth; indeed, it shakes them with the shaking of a compelling ruler, that the preservation of Egypt is among their most important duties, if not for

its own sake, then for what its position imposes on the surrounding regions.

As for the governors and men of opinion among the Egyptians, they have been so overwhelmed by these cunning people that they have been distracted from their present knowledge and their future thoughts. They sought a strong support and relied on it to repel what they thought was a calamity and imagined to be a disaster. But it took control of the matter over them and stripped them of what they sought to preserve. They are between a sleep whose beginnings are pleasant, with the soft promises of the English, and between startling dreams and terrifying fantasies, showing them what will be poured upon them of scalding torment and what they will be seized with of the torment of humiliation. A small part of what they witness in the present is a prelude to much that some of them see as distant, but we and the wise among them see as near.

As for the English, they are not at ease with what they have earned, nor have they enjoyed what they coveted. Rather, events have pushed them and driven them to problems they had not anticipated. They are now between three matters, none of which can be achieved except by negating the others, yet they want them all together. They will not be able to do so except by something that breaks the bounds of possibility: ending the matter of Muhammad Ahmad, fulfilling their pledges to Europe, and achieving what they intend for themselves in Egypt.

They are a people who seek the easiest path for every matter, and resort to another if it becomes difficult. Sometimes they declare their determination to leave Egypt, leaning towards fulfilling their pledge, but then they follow that by saying that the time of evacuation is not limited. At other times, they proclaim that England's honour requires it to place Egypt under its protection and to administer it as a ruling master, not as a consulting advisor. Their Minister of War indicates, indeed explicitly states, that necessity forces them to such an action, and he sometimes expresses it as protection, and at other times with a name that means nothing else. At times, they title Muhammad Ahmad as the Amir of Kordofan, and they ask the Khedive—as reported by the Memorial Diplomatique—to write them a document authorising them to handle the matter of the claimant as they wish, and permitting them to station their troops on the Red Sea coasts, and that the governorship of Khartoum after Gordon shall be given to a sheikh who guarantees them a good agreement with Muhammad Ahmad. So neither fidelity pleases them, for it contradicts their purpose, nor is protection easy for them, for the European states are on the lookout. In the midst of all this, Muhammad Ahmad takes what opportunity provides him of power, establishes his call in other regions, raises armies, and advances towards Khartoum, which he is now besieging and on the verge of capturing.

Despite the English government's eagerness to suppress news and to soften rumours from Khartoum, its Minister of War was forced to

admit in the House of Commons that communications are cut off between Khartoum and Lower Egypt (to Alexandria), and that the English government's communications with General Gordon depend on chance—on the existence of someone who crosses the wilderness to the capital of Nubia and Korosko to deliver news. The government has no knowledge of the conditions of the Nile except from the 15th of the month, and it does not know what has happened to Gordon. The Times confirmed that the General is in great danger. Their terror increased because Uthman Digna's resolve has not been shaken by what he suffered in the two defeats; he remains a strong opponent of the English government, as indicated by the fact that General Graham is preparing to fight him again, as reported by Le Temps. The French newspaper Le Journal des Débats stated that the fall of Khartoum in the hands of Muhammad Ahmad would have a very serious impact and a great effect on changing the current conditions in the Eastern lands.

Indeed, if Muhammad Ahmad settles in Khartoum, it will be easy for him to unite the tribes between Khartoum and Aswan, and the edges of his army will connect with the lands of Upper Egypt. He will not lack Arabs in the regions of Upper Egypt, and even in the Delta, to join him, and it will be the great calamity. It is likely in our view that this fire is not one to be extinguished by the drizzle of English politics, nor to be quenched by the slow movements of its troops. Especially since disagreement has arisen between the British government and its army commanders on the Red Sea coasts. The government's opinion is to continue and hasten the war, while Admiral Hewett's opinion is to

suspend the war until October (after six months), so that the soldiers do not perish from the heat. In six months, there is room for what no one now imagines. If the entire matter of calming the revolution and suppressing the sedition is left to English power and pleases them, we can hardly think about what will happen before fires erupt in other regions, making it difficult for those concerned to remedy them later. Nothing can avert these disasters except the resolves of the Muslims; the reins of action must be handed over to them, free from the foreign interventions that embitter hearts and stir up enmities.

The Persian newspapers, including the République Française, Le Journal des Débats, and others, sensed what England intends to do in the Egyptian territories. They asked the French government to station its troops on the island of Dissei, which overlooks the Red Sea coasts near Massawa, arguing that if what the English Minister of War claims—that the lines of the Red Sea are part of the route to India—is true, then we can say that they are also the route to Tonkin, Cochinchina, and Madagascar. Indeed, the stationing of troops on that island is one of the most important necessities for monitoring the prevention of the slave trade, as required by the treaty between us and England. This is part of the outcome of Gladstone's policy in Egypt. Perhaps it will calm the spirit of his nation and lessen its anxiety about this new competition between it and France on the Red Sea coasts, by recalling the results of the competition in the past ages. But how many were their losses! There were times when England's policy was hidden from the Indians, and they were deceived by it. But today, nothing remains hidden from any of the inhabitants of the Eastern lands.

Perhaps the unseen will soon bring us what will happen between France and England in these matters—and to God is the final return.

News Section — Chapter 16: Sheikh al-Mirghani

A telegram was received from Suakin on the 1st of March, stating that Sheikh al-Mirghani, along with another sheikh said to be from Mecca, went that day to the English camp to witness the submission of many tribal chiefs who had inclined towards peace with the English. At another time, it was said that this al-Mirghani accompanied an English force going to Berendok to secure the submission of some tribes in those areas. It is said that one of them was still undecided about accepting or refusing submission. This is something to be wondered at: that a sheikh who appears among the Muslims in the guise of knowledge and guidance should then lead an English army to humiliate the sons of his own creed, his brothers in religion and race. He knows that his honour is their honour, his authority is by their authority, and without them he would not have received honour and veneration; he would not have been showered with blessings, nor would the means of luxury and pleasure have been available to him, nor would he have enjoyed his full desires and appetites. How can he allow himself to bring English troops before knowing their intentions,

and what they want from humbling the Arab army and subjugating them? Can he do such a thing while knowing what the Sharia warns against and what it permits, deceived by some baseless illusions?

We received letters from Egypt and the Hejaz that a group of scholars in both regions judged him to have apostatised, and said that this is one of the greatest blunders ever committed in Islam. They added that he is not a scholar nor one of the knowers of the paths of guidance, but rather gained the belief of some Sudanese by inheritance from his father, and that he did not distinguish himself from the common illiterate people in anything. Even if this does not remove the astonishment at his action.

News Section — Chapter 17: Khartoum in the French Newspapers, Citing the English

The followers of Muhammad Ahmad were reported to be three thousand near Khartoum on the evening of March 13th. By the morning of the 14th, they had reached six thousand. This indicates that General Gordon has some defensive strength, as that force did not

attack the city. But what can be expected of him against these thousands, which multiply day by day, as they surround his residence from all sides? What indicates that he is in the most difficult straits, indeed on the brink of danger, is the agreement of the English newspapers about the severity of his situation and the blocking of the roads, and the news of the past few days that a group of rebels had fortified themselves on the banks of the Nile near Halfa, a few miles north of Khartoum, and that they fired on a boat carrying three hundred men that Gordon had brought, killing about a hundred of them. However, the General was able to rescue the rest. The Times rejoiced at this victory that the General achieved in rescuing the rest of those who came to him, although it showed great distress at his being in great danger and the Sudanese rebellion surrounding him from all sides, and it urged its government to rescue him as much as it could (and God knows how far apart this rejoicing and this warning are, while they are in the same chapter).

A telegram to the Daily News stated that the roads to Khartoum are cut off, that the tribes loyal to Muhammad Ahmad surround it from all sides, and that three of those tribes, with large numbers, led by a great multitude of sheikhs and dervishes, are advancing to capture it. The general public thinks there is no way to defend it or to rescue it from them except by sending English troops. The Times correspondent reported on the 1st of the month that it is the duty of the English government to rescue General Gordon, for it has thrown him into the lion's mouth, and he will be a prey to death unless troops are sent to him with the utmost speed. The consideration of the report is that the

course of action is a grave matter, and it warned of the danger if the rebels advanced to the south of Berber, for all are in a state of great agitation and intense revolution. All of this confirms what we have repeatedly said: that the claimant fears the strength of his power and the spread of his call to distant regions. For if his foot is firmly planted in Khartoum, we will soon hear of his call appearing in Aswan.

News Section — Chapter 18: The Tyranny of Lord Dufferin[20]

The English have adopted a new approach in dealing with the Ottoman state since the Russian war. They take it by threat and intimidation in everything they seek to achieve of their purposes in the Ottoman dominions, not observing in what they do any international law or political treaty. They tyrannically set deadlines and appoint times with their might. The greatest of their terrors is threatening to change their heart towards that state, or to alienate themselves from it. They do not distinguish in this approach between small and large matters. Among that is what all the newspapers reported: that Lord Dufferin, the English ambassador in Istanbul, was harsh with Saeed Pasha, the Grand Vizier, and was rude to him in his speech when discussing the matter of an Ottoman company under the patronage of

the state of Lobraham Agha, to which the Sublime Porte had granted a concession to operate transport ships on the shores of the Mediterranean. This work was in the hands of an English company (which had not taken a concession for it). Lord Dufferin was displeased and asked the Sublime Porte to withdraw its grant, but his request was not answered. So he went to the Grand Vizier last Thursday and spoke harshly to him, accusing the Sublime Porte of deliberate evasion. When the Grand Vizier excused himself, saying that this was not within his jurisdiction but belonged to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dufferin said that he would not communicate with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (even though it was within its jurisdiction), and that he would hold the Grand Vizier personally responsible for the loss to the English due to this concession, unless an official apology was made and the Governor of Izmir was dismissed. If our affairs have reached the point of submitting to every threat and yielding to every intimidation, and our internal matters are left to the choice of anyone who can threaten and be harsh, then "To God we belong, and to Him we return; there is no power nor might except with God, the Most High, the Great."

News Section — Chapter 19

Every day, The Times urges the English government to expel the Egyptian national troops, claiming that this would be well received by the inhabitants, and that they would be overjoyed. It also advises the government to openly declare its protection of Egypt[13] and to show the states that it is willing to bear any consequences resulting from its intervention in that country, and that this is required by prudence, for the Egyptian administration and its branches are in need of real reform, which can only be carried out by Englishmen. This, from that newspaper and others, is a way of pushing the government to reveal what it conceals of authority over the Egyptian lands, and to annex them to its Eastern possessions. This was not hidden from anyone, although some Egyptians deceived themselves about it, knowingly or unknowingly—and God knows best. What the newspapers demand—the expulsion of the national army—is merely a prelude to ownership and the firm establishment of their feet. Then they embellish this by claiming that the Egyptians rejoice at it, whereas the first military uprising that pleased the Egyptians in the days of the Wilson ministry was caused by the decision to reduce the number of soldiers and close the military schools. The Egyptians, being Muslims, cannot be expected to rejoice at the expulsion of their national garrison; rather, they are greatly disturbed by it.

News Section — Chapter 20: Nubar Pasha[23]'s Argument

In a telegram from Cairo dated March 1st, it was reported that Nubar Pasha presented his argument to Mr. Clifford Lloyd (the Acting Minister of the Interior of Egypt) and raised it to Major Barring. This is what remains for the rulers of the Easterners: to present arguments and proofs, and to convince that their proof is sound in its premises and correct in its conclusion, when it comes to reason. But some of them present their arguments to one state regarding another, and some present them to their foreign patrons, being of them and among them. This is truly a strange thing!

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News Section — Chapter 21: Uthman Digna

In the recent telegrams, it was reported that an English force will leave Handuk and head towards the vicinity of Tamanieb (the site of the previous battle) to camp in those areas. Do they think that their presence there will be enough to subdue the tribes? However, Uthman has promised his people that a divine command will come to him after six days to annihilate the English troops with his strength.

News Section — Chapter 22: Muhammad Ahmad's Treatment of the Christian Missionaries

An Egyptian officer who had been in Obeid came to Khartoum and reported that the Catholic missionaries in that city are under the protection of Muhammad Ahmad, with complete freedom. Provisions are given to them from his side, to each one of them five and a half riyals per month, and their church is open, although the schools are closed due to necessity. This indicates that he has intelligence, wisdom, and good character in his dealings with the followers of different sects and religions opposed to his own faith and doctrine. This increases our fear of the growth of his affair and the spread of his call.

The correspondent of the Daily News, accompanying the English army on the Red Sea coasts, wrote that the English armies are suffering severe hardships and difficulties in cutting the road to where they are to meet... The heat is intense, the paths are rugged, and the water is harmful to health, in addition to its scarcity. They had not even reached the first stage before fatigue exhausted them and weakness overcame them, incapacitating four hundred of them from continuing.

Le Temps said that the purpose of this attack is not clear. When the Foreign Secretary of England was asked about it in Parliament, he evaded the answer and prevaricated in stating the truth, as if he wanted to conceal what they were doing. They have covered up the shame of their failure and disguised what would disgrace them. It is likely that the purpose of this is to open the road between Berber and Suakin, so that the English forces can communicate with the forces in Khartoum from the direction of Suakin (which was cut off from the road to Khartoum after it was besieged by Muhammad Ahmad's armies from its sides connected to the Nile). The Daily News correspondent says that if the hardship continues for the English troops in their current state, they will not be able to achieve any real goal, and their attempt to advance will only be a cause of destruction.

The Times reported that anxiety in London is severe, and the disturbance has reached its limit, and all the people are eagerly awaiting the Egyptian news minute by minute. The newspaper added: The English government has not been able to open the road to Berber with this new advance. Hope of opening this road at another time has weakened, and it has become difficult for England to fulfil its self-imposed obligation in the Egyptian territories, and hope for a satisfactory settlement of the Sudanese question has diminished. The Russian government, after settling in Merv, has resolved to establish behind the Caspian Sea a special government for the territories under its authority, with a specific centre and a base to which the rulings of those regions will be referred, so as to facilitate communication between them and Merv. This is a new movement for the Russian state in the regions of Asia... and if it is not a cause for concern for the friends of England, it is certainly a pillar that has been added to their strength.

News Section — Chapter 24

The awe of the English and their dominion over the Easterners was at its peak before the formation of battalions, the organisation of

brigades, and the marching of troops to fight Uthman Digna a few miles from the Red Sea coasts. The Sudanese imagined—indeed, it bordered on their belief—that English power was supernatural, and that from it came miracles beyond the ordinary. The Easterners in various regions believed that the wonders of British power had reached the limits of magic, dazzling minds and bewildering intellects. If it occurred to any nation, small or large, due to its distance from its centre, to challenge them for a right or to contest a desire, the earth would split and the heavens would open, revealing a host of Englishmen who would shower them with the sounds of torment, make them taste the bitterest punishment, and snatch the souls from their bodies—so that they would always triumph and never be defeated. Especially if their opponents carried only a few old-fashioned weapons, such as those used by the people of... and they fought.

However, the events of Sudan have forced this great state to send an army to strike some Arabs in the vicinity of Suakin. The organised armies moved to meet Uthman and his men. The commanders formed them into squares of valiant soldiers, bristling with the gleam of rifle bayonets, surrounded by new weapons of Remington and Henry-Martini manufacture, of the finest design, and fortified them with towers of cannons that the inhabitants of those deserts could not match in strength nor aspire to in power. But the power of certainty, or the force of ignorance, drove a band of naked and barefoot Arabs against the English ranks. They demolished their fortresses, tore down their structures, and breached their towers. After a fierce struggle,

advance and retreat, in two great battles, the English retreated to Suakin (the seashore), abandoning the battlefields. The Arabs withdrew to the mountains, and the English cried out: We have triumphed and taken revenge!

What was the effect of this strange miracle on the souls of the Sudanese? Their feet were firmly planted, their courage strengthened, and their word was united. It dispelled the awe and terror that had lingered in their hearts. They gathered their forces and prepared for a third battle, but were deprived—by bad luck or good fortune—of meeting their opponents, because the intense heat was either their enemy or their ally, forcing the English troops to evacuate those lands. They rushed to the sea, with no foothold except in Egypt or England. The ferment of this victory in the hearts of the Sudanese incited them to tighten the siege on Khartoum, knowing that they could not follow the English into the sea, nor could they pursue them while they were on the waves. When the pressure on those in Khartoum became severe, General Gordon rose with the courage of heroes to break the siege. But it was only a sortie in which his armies were scattered, followed by a retreat into the city, waiting for what fate would bring. But to cover the face of his defeat, he accused two great Egyptian officers of treason, and ordered them to be shot, and they were killed. They were Hassan Pasha and Saeed Pasha (according to the telegrams). This victory on the coasts, in this remarkable manner, and what happened to Gordon, has lowered the standing of England and its power in the Sudanese regions in general, and made its word the lowest. It has led the Sudanese to believe that it was one of the

miracles of Muhammad Ahmad—there is no power nor might except with God.

One crisis follows another, and calamity begets calamity. These successive shocks have lifted part of the veil and removed the curtain, causing a tremor in the hearts of the Indians. The Nawabs and nobles have shown their teeth and stretched out their arms, looking to what they might attain. Each one reflects on himself and his hope for near deliverance from the narrowness of servitude, glimpsing opportunities through these events. News of the calamities that befell the English armies—from the disaster of Hicks to what followed—has spread throughout India. You see people in groups and individually whispering about this matter, reproaching themselves for their past negligence, while they stand on the hill of hope, watching for favourable opportunities, especially the Muslims among them, as we have been informed by letters received from various parts of India. We think that the English state, whose strength is based on illusion and deception, will find it difficult after this to restore its former status in the souls of the Easterners, especially if the events of Khartoum lead to the killing or capture of Gordon and the capture of that city, the capital of Sudan.

The situation becomes even worse if the Ottomans show strength and take firm resolve in preserving their rights by any means. We may see this happen; the wise among them are not unaware of the English need for their friendship, for the English rule over fifty million Muslims, all

of whom recognise the rights of the Sultan and respond to his call when he calls, and they are more obedient to him than the Turks themselves. The clever Ottomans, although they see that England treats the state only with threats and intimidation, and has made this its way to achieve its purposes from it, they know that it is impossible for England to declare war on the state, for the politicians of Britain, who are the most knowledgeable in the subtleties of affairs, let alone the great ones, are not unaware of what the hearts of the Indians hold of love for the holder of Islamic authority. They are certain that if they declared war on the Ottomans, their authority in India would collapse at the first blow—not only for the Muslims, but the polytheists would follow them. This is clear to every Englishman, even if it is hidden from some Ottomans who try to hide it from the rest.

Belief in Muhammad Ahmad has found its way into the hearts of the Indians. One of our friends in Lahore wrote to us that even if Muhammad Ahmad were an impostor, necessity would oblige us to believe him to be the Mahdi, and not to neglect anything that supports him. After this, how can the English repel the calamity of Muhammad Ahmad? The heat of Sudan prevents and will prevent the movement of troops there, and demanding troops from Korkosik after this call has spread in India is not something wisdom permits. We do not think that England will incite a crusade with the Abyssinian government against the Muslims of Sudan, for it would ruin its affairs in India and contradict the principles of modern civilisation. So what is the solution? It is to expedite the settlement of the Sudan matter and to avoid being drawn into the interior of Sudan, indeed to the south of

Sudan? It is more important than all of this to prevent the spread of this claim; the multitude of its believers will inevitably cause harm to the English state and to everyone who has rights in Egypt. So the English—as we have advised repeatedly—must protect their lands and preserve the road to India by entrusting the matter to the Ottomans and the men of resolve among the Egyptians, before it is too late. And to God all affairs are returned.

News Section — Chapter 25: The Ottoman Empire

The newspaper Memorial Diplomatique said that no news has yet been received from the Sublime Porte regarding the proclamation it intended to send to the Egyptians, except that it is fully drafted and contains that the states will be invited to the deliberation that was interrupted by the bombardment of Alexandria (the conference), and that the Sublime Porte will not refrain from publishing it unless England agrees to make its communications with it regarding the settlement of the Sudanese and Egyptian questions in a serious manner (not a frivolous one). We became even more certain of what this newspaper mentioned—that the Ottoman state does not take its rights over Egypt lightly, and that it spares no effort in defending them. We had full confidence in the resolves of the Ottomans, and that they must

step forward to protect their Egyptian lands from the domination of others in them.

For this reason, we are certain that what the Daily Telegraph mentioned—that Mr. Gladstone will soon declare his government's protection over the Egyptian territories, and that he will communicate with the states to determine the duration of the protection, which will be no less than five years, and he hopes that the states will not oppose what he proposes—is not pleasing to the Ottoman state. Some French newspapers have detailed this news, elaborated on it, and pointed out what some states have replied. It is not something that crosses our minds that the Ottoman state would agree to what England demands, even if we assume that the states permitted the English to protect Egypt for a limited or unlimited period. For events are not secure, and the vicissitudes of time cannot be trusted. In five years, or even less, political foundations can change, indeed the face of politics can change in ways that are unrecognisable, and politicians have in every crisis an excuse to prolong commitments and to justify delays.

News Section — Chapter 26: England on the Red Sea Coasts

What the English newspapers had reported a few days ago has come to pass. The British armies advanced to meet... it means that... and with them, the forces... many of them were afflicted with weakness and fatigue, to the point of being unable to continue the march. The rest of the soldiers persisted in their advance and formed themselves into squares similar to those they had formed in the previous battle. However, they did not encounter their enemy. The English report stated that the reason for not engaging was that the troops reached the village of Tamanieb and found no defenders there, so they burned it and returned to Suakin.

It is not hidden that all their news before this advance agreed that Uthman was nine miles away from Tamanieb, and that their march was to meet him where he was entrenched. There was no reason to burn the village of Tamanieb, nor to report that no defender was found, except for what the English have become accustomed to in their wars: when they do not achieve a victory, they burn and destroy, even if those they attack are not actually fighting them, so that they can say: we have triumphed, we have burned, we have destroyed. The French newspapers reported that Uthman's retreat was only to trap them in the mountain passes, then to attack and destroy them, as his leader Muhammad Ahmad had done to General Hicks's troops. It appears that when they sensed this trap and felt themselves too weak to resist the Arabs in their mountains, they turned back to Suakin, using the excuse of the intense heat to cover their retreat and to offer a weak excuse. The English newspapers are in a state of great anxiety

and confusion, and most of them urge their government to withdraw troops from the Red Sea coasts, claiming that even though they are from the Indian garrison and are accustomed to heat, the effect of the Sudanese heat has appeared on them with great speed, and they fear heavy losses.

It is more likely that they realised the strength of Muhammad Ahmad, the steadfastness of Uthman, and the burning zeal in the hearts of the Muslims in those regions, which prompted them to retreat. They feared that what had happened to General Hicks's troops might happen to the armies of the Eastern Sudan, and they covered themselves with complaints of the intense heat and the blazing fire of summer, even though the heat of southern India, where these troops were stationed, as their own newspapers mentioned, is more intense than that of the Red Sea coasts. What General Graham and Admiral Hewett said—that military movements on the Red Sea coasts had ended—confirms the admission of these two commanders of their inability to open the route between the Red Sea and Berber, and to help Gordon from this direction. Based on what they showed of weakness, orders were issued to General Graham to evacuate military positions, withdraw troops from them, and leave Suakin as quickly as possible. This was followed by the gathering of all troops in that city, and it is said that one of its brigades will travel on the 29th of March to Egypt and England.

This order will undoubtedly be considered by the followers of Muhammad Ahmad and those who believe in his cause as a divine victory and a heavenly confirmation, strengthening the belief of those devoted to him and ending the doubts of those who hesitated to accept his call. Delusion may lead the naive among them to think that God supported them with marked angels, who repelled their enemy from them. After this, the word of the tribes will unite, their feet will be

firmly planted in their battle positions, and their eagerness to spread Muhammad Ahmad's cause and to overcome those who have not submitted to it will increase. This strange victory will be their strongest proof of the truth of their claim.

This is what the policy of the English state has led to—a policy that, with its small forces, entered a land and kindled a fire that has grown into a huge blaze. It has tried to put it out with straw and has been unable to control it. Its policy has refrained from handing over the matter to its rightful owners—those who are capable of remedying it, the Muslims—so that security may be achieved for foreigners and nationals alike, blood may be spared, and wealth may be preserved. Instead, it resorted to seeking help from the Abyssinian government to fight Sudan, feeling no shame in this, while it claims to be the bearer of the banner of civilisation and the champion of humanity, reciting the verses of the Gospel day and night, then summoning a rough, uncivilised government like that of Abyssinia to fight other peoples—even if they are not less rough—so that a savage war may break out, burning cities and villages, shedding abundant blood, and destroying children, women, and the elderly, and those who have no crime, until they annihilate each other. It did not hesitate, in seeking this help, to declare to the Abyssinian government that its aim was to restrain the Muslims in Sudan and weaken their power, thereby inciting a religious war that reminds the world of the Crusades. News has come to the French newspapers that England is seeking from John, King of Abyssinia, to supply it with armies to defend the Red Sea coasts, due to its inability to protect them itself and to quell the

Muslim revolt and subdue them. It sent its fleet commander to him to agree on the conditions of this assistance and what it would gain after carrying it out. The Memorial Diplomatique reported that among what England asks from Abyssinia, in addition to military aid, is that it cede two islands in the Red Sea to it, and that it cede parts of the Somali coast. Our sincere reformer wants to give Abyssinia a portion of our lands as a reward for what he wants from it, and he has not forgotten to observe commercial profit, as is his custom, urging Abyssinia to cede its possessions in the Red Sea. Let those who would take heed do so.

News Section — Chapter 27: Return to Khartoum

We have repeatedly warned Muslims in general, and Egyptians in particular, against the repugnance of fighting their brothers and shedding the blood of the sons of their creed, merely upon orders issued to them by those who oppose them in race and belief, who do not know the consequences, nor do they know who will reap its fruits. Indeed, they are certain that they are only killing their brothers to bequeath their land to other people, who may be their enemies or become their enemies. For this reason, we were not surprised by what we have heard in recent days of the failure of Gordon's sorties from

Khartoum. We do not think that their defeat in these positions was due to cowardice and fear, or to a defect and deficiency in military discipline. Rather, we know that they prefer death at the hands of their brothers to victory over them, so that their wealth and their lands may not become spoils for their foreign masters. As for the English newspapers and English commanders, they exaggerate the cowardice and disorder of the Egyptian troops, in order to pave the way for what their government intends—to expel the Egyptian national army and replace it with an English one, so that with their army they can achieve what their ambitions look forward to in the future.

Thus, it is not surprising for one who knows the truth of the matter what the Times correspondent in Khartoum reported: that when Gordon Pasha was closely besieged by the followers of Muhammad Ahmad, he went out with two thousand Egyptian soldiers and some irregular troops (the Bashi-Bozuks) to disperse the besiegers and drive them away from the gates of the city. But the troops did not stand firm at the first encounter; many of them defected to the Arab tribes, and two of their commanders (Pashas) attempted to kill those who were manning the cannons, in order to fire them at their brothers who were loyal to Muhammad Ahmad. It is said that Gordon arrested the two commanders and placed them under military trial. In the end, Gordon was forced to retreat behind the fortifications, after his army had been scattered and two hundred of them had been killed, as they reported, while only four of the rebels were killed. The Arabs captured abundant booty from Gordon's army, even though the attackers were a small group armed only with spears and lances, while Gordon's army

consisted of two thousand men armed with the latest European weapons.

This is what happens with the Egyptians because they are under the command of a foreigner who orders them according to the wishes of a foreign state. Had they been under the command of a Muslim Egyptian commander, and had they been confident that the outcome of their victory would be for their country and their creed, we would have seen from them what the world has seen and the universe has witnessed of their courage and valour in the days of Muhammad Ali and Ibrahim Pasha. In short, Gordon returned his garrison to safety in Khartoum on the 16th of March (last). The Times correspondent says that he can hold out in the fortifications for some days, but he did not dare to go out a second time. The English newspapers tell of what has terrified the people of Britain—the calamity of Gordon—and warn of a great danger that will befall him. The Daily Telegraph said that the destruction of Gordon at the hands of Muhammad Ahmad would nullify all the military operations carried out by those English troops in Sudan, making them as dust as if they had never been, and would erase the effect of those bloody battles, making them forgotten and ignored. The Standard said: It is not possible for us to delay even a single minute unless we want to throw Gordon into the abyss of destruction, and Sudan into chaos (yes, they must fear chaos in Sudan as they feared it in Egypt). The Times said: England must show its resolve in the present circumstances, and must act with severity, so that this is known to all the English. It is the hope of England that the nation will support the government in what it resolves, and that there

is no way to save Gordon except by the English government's determination to do what it wants (and the Times did not reveal what that resolve is, nor what the government is determined to do—perhaps all of that is: we must do, we must leave, we must be, we must not be).

The French newspaper Le Temps said that this new crisis has caused such anxiety in England as cannot be exceeded, and all the people there believe that if the government does not send troops to rescue Gordon, he is surely doomed. All of them know the extent of the burden that the (English) ministry will bear if Gordon dies or is captured, for it is the one that threw him into this danger. The newspapers in general, despite their differing opinions, all agree that the death of Gordon Pasha would be a stain on England's honour that the days will not erase. The English Minister of War debates his questioners from the opposition party in the House of Commons, evading them in his answers, and making excuses that the government did not make a clear promise to the House to explain its intentions in Egyptian policy, and he claims that he cannot give details about the situation in Khartoum because news has been cut off. However, he admits the defeat of General Gordon and his severe straits, but Lord Northbrook[21] continued to insist on his demand that the government explain its policy on the Egyptian and Sudanese questions in detail, and he told Lord Granville in the House of Lords that he did not think it was easy at this time to open the road between Suakin and Berber, and that those who claimed it was easy were wrong, and he informed the House of the failure that had befallen General Gordon.

News Section — Chapter 28: England's Hopes Regarding Muhammad Ahmad's Movements

Lord Granville stated in the House of Lords that the fierce resistance they encountered from the Arab tribes and their leader Uthman on the Red Sea coasts was not intended for anything other than the desire to strengthen Muhammad Ahmad's authority in the Sudanese lands. By this, he means that what made them stand firm and throw themselves upon death was not their enmity towards the English, nor their ambition to expand their conquests, but rather the motive was the defence of Muhammad Ahmad's authority in Sudan specifically. This from Lord Granville is either ignorance or a disregard for the implications of the Mahdist claim, and indeed its essential requirements. The one who undertakes such a claim does not stop in his course at any limit, nor is he content with any kingdom. Rather, he intends to spread his call to the regions of the world and to revive the divine commands brought by the owner of his Sharia, whose deputyship he claims in conveying and preserving it in the souls of all people. He will not stop at any portion of the earth—whether Sudan, Egypt, or other lands—except by advancing beyond it, until he elevates the word of his religion, and restores to the truth what has been corrupted in the hearts of Muslims, and takes from them a high

place from which he can overlook the ambitions of his call in other nations. Whether God facilitates success for him in that or not, we have no comment on that now. Rather, we speak of the natural characteristics of this great call.

After understanding what we have explained, Lord Granville's statement in the House of Lords falls short of consideration—that his government has received no news that would lead it to assume that Muhammad Ahmad is ready to accept the Emirate of Kordofan and be content with it. He does not know whether Muhammad Ahmad's acceptance of that position would be a veil between him and any advance towards Herat? Muhammad Ahmad did not claim a kingdom that he inherited from his fathers; rather, he rose with a claim whose limits have no end except at the boundaries of Islamic authority. Nothing can match the strength of an Islamic call except an Islamic resolve, and no one can fight this claimant and reduce him to his proper measure except Muslim men who defend the claim with what can weaken or obliterate it. If no such news has reached Lord Granville's government yet, let his heart be assured that it will not arrive in the future, and we do not think any good will come to him except contrary to what he imagines—we ask God for a good outcome.

After writing these words, news came confirming what we said. A telegram from the Times offices in Khartoum stated that three men, who had been messengers sent by Muhammad Ahmad to General

Gordon, returned to him the tokens of honour that he had sent to their sender, and informed him that Muhammad Ahmad refuses the title of Amir of Kordofan, and advises the General to enter the religion of Islam, for it is better for him.

News Section — Chapter 29: Courage and Glory

The sons of the Western nations, when they set their minds on a goal, do not weaken in seeking it. Their ambitions make the difficult easy for them, and every distant thing near. They brave dangers to acquire honour, and endure the hardships of travel and the terrors of the unknown. They do not see this as a burden, but rather consider it a source of growth for their bodies. They are afraid if an opportunity presents itself and they fear losing it, lest they perish and their life be lost. For this reason, you see one of them traversing the deserts of Africa, scaling the mountains of Siberia, mixing with tribes and peoples whose language he does not know, whose customs and morals he does not share, enduring the hardships of heat, cold, hunger, and thirst, and confronting death with those he mixes with from those distant tribes, who are far from him in all their characteristics. At every moment, he falls between the fangs of death, yet he escapes by whatever means he can. He endures all of this seeking an honour to

gain for himself, or a glory to achieve for his own sake. Among these men, indeed among the most resolute and noble of them, is our courageous and famous friend, Mr. O'Kelly, one of the Irish members of Parliament. He came to us months ago, determined to travel to Obeid, and asked us to provide him with what would facilitate his safe arrival. We answered him by writing letters to those who have the upper hand in helping him. We have received letters from him, giving us good news of his success. In these days, telegrams have arrived confirming his arrival. There are also men from the great free Frenchmen who have gone to a similar destination and used similar means, and they are now on the road—we pray for their safe arrival.

We hope that these men will serve as an example for the Easterners, so that they are not restrained by false illusions, nor lulled by lethargic slumber. It is not a shame for them to be reminded of their past glory, compared to the conditions of others who are present today. But it is a pity that they need to be reminded of what they have of past glory, when they see the conditions of others now. And to God belongs the command before and after.

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News Section — Chapter 30: A Legend

They mention in the legends of the ancients that there was a great temple outside the city of Istakhr. Sometimes some night travellers would take refuge in it when the darkness of the night became terrifying to them. But no one ever took refuge in it except that death overtook him. So seekers of its mystery would come to investigate its story, entering the temple in broad daylight, and they would find it empty. Then they could not find the cause of his death, for his body was sound and free from anything known to be a cause of death. The matter of the temple became famous among travellers and residents, and every visitor took his precaution against spending the night there, until the world became narrow for a man. He chose death over life, and found it difficult to commit suicide by his own hand, so he went to the temple hoping to meet his fate. Near it were men who advised him and warned him of the consequences of destruction, but he did not listen to them, saying: I have come only for that fate. He escaped from his advisors to where he thought his destruction would be.

When he was in the middle of the temple, terrifying, terrifying voices suddenly confronted him, as if a great crowd was addressing him: Here we have come to destroy you. Here we have come to take your life. Here we have come to tear your body and crush your bones. The wretched man cried out: Come on then, for life has become hateful. He had not finished speaking when a loud crack occurred, the talisman dissolved, the wall split open, and coins and dinars scattered from it, and the doors of treasures opened. The frightened man became calm and slept until morning. When the day broke, and those who were

waiting for news of him came to perform his funeral, they found him happy and rejoicing, asking them for vessels to carry what he had found of gold and silver. They asked him for his story... and after he told it, they learned that the destruction of those who had perished was only due to their panic at those terrifying sounds which had no reality.

Great Britain is a great temple to which the deluded resort when the darkness of politics frightens them, and death overtakes them through the terrors of illusions. How many have perished within its walls who had no courage, nor firmness of heart! And I fear that despair may drive to it those of strong resolve, when life becomes narrow. Then it will be but a moment when the voice of despair rises; the wall will collapse, and the great talisman will dissolve.

News Section — Chapter 31: Power Belongs to Truth

The state of Britain has recently adopted a way of dealing with the Easterners different from its known method. It knows that its success in its dealings with them, the expansion of its dominion over them, and its reaping of the fruits of their gardens, was only through that known path. It is as if I see it today having fathomed their realities,

probed their natures, and reached the hidden recesses of their hearts. It has passed from their outward appearances to their innermost selves, and inserted its trunk into their hearts. It sensed stillness, and thought it was dryness from intense cowardice. It penetrated into the vessels of their blood, and perceived a languor in it, which it imagined was a stoppage from extreme weakness. So it concluded that they were at the end of their incapacity for their own affairs and the management of their own concerns. Or it perceived in them a complacency with titles that had been stripped of their original meanings and divested of their denotations: like "Nazir" (Inspector), "Wazir" (Minister), "Wali" (Governor), "Amir" (Prince)—which are like lofty domes, but empty and void. So it was easy for the Eastern princes to be deceived by these deceptive titles, and to neglect their real interests and the necessities of their national or religious life, contenting themselves with what illusion builds and fantasy decorates. Thus it thought, as its actions indicate, and that was not its custom.

The English state entered the lands of the Indians, and cast its eye upon what God had granted them of their lands, aspiring to snatch them from the hands of the Muslims. However, it went the way of gentleness and kindness, lowering the wing of humility, and appearing in the garments of submission and fear. It persevered in this path for long periods, traversing long distances over a long time. Yes, it gradually undermined the foundations of the Timurid Sultanate, stone by stone, and took possession of its lands piece by piece, but without overtly challenging the outward sultanate or touching its influence. It would incite the governors, the Nawabs and the Rajahs, to rebel

against the Timurid Sultan, then it would act on his behalf with English and Indian troops to overcome the rebels, in the name of the king. It did not touch his royal symbols, but rather solved the problems under the name of the king's service. But in Egypt, it revealed its intentions from the first step. The first fruit of its work, after entering that country, was to take control of the government, oppose it in all its actions, and prevent it from engaging in its own affairs. Perhaps the observer of the movements of that state in the days when it was preparing the causes of the previous sedition and its efforts to strengthen the Sudanese revolt, might think it was following its path in India. But he sees it preventing the Ottoman Sultan from intervening in the reform of his Egyptian and Sudanese lands, despite his rights in them—both the shared and the legal rights. This is a grave and dangerous matter, and its details indicate that it has deviated from its method and adopted a different path.

Clifford Lloyd, the advisor of the Interior in Egypt, by virtue of his position, belongs to the middle class in the government's affairs. He dominates all the Egyptian ministers, opposes them in their actions, and sets laws and regulations for the country from his own initiative. He opposes Tawfiq Pasha in his orders (except that he is not considered disobedient, so they forced Nubar Pasha, the Prime Minister, to submit his resignation after he was unable to resist him). Tawfiq Pasha was annoyed by his stubbornness in his opinions, and the English government did not see fit to dismiss him and replace him with someone else, claiming that if it dismissed him, it would insult the Crown of Great Britain. Then it compounded this confusion by

directing its orders to Clifford Lloyd to stop at the limits of his position and not exceed the scope of his work, which the nature of the position and its limited characteristics permit him. But the Times was not content with this, and tore off the mask, not caring about the feelings of the Eastern princes, scorning and humiliating them. It tore the veil that its government had erected as a screen for its purpose in obliging Clifford Lloyd to what it obliged him. It said: The "Viceroy" ministry is composed of "dummy" figures, and the English government moves them as it wishes. So Clifford Lloyd must direct Egyptian affairs through the Prime Minister.

These tricks mean that the decision-making and authority in all circumstances belong to the English ministry, but from behind the veil. Then this newspaper objected to the erection of this veil, saying that although it is useful, it harms the interests of both England and Egypt (and it was incumbent upon the English government to be clear and not to act as it has acted).

The English state has accelerated in its march towards what it intends in the Egyptian territories, indeed it has recklessly departed from its custom. And haste may lead to error. We do not think that what it has done in Egypt is wise, and perhaps it must remedy its negligence. Muhammad Ahmad's power has risen and his danger has become great, and there is no obstacle to his march behind it. Forces gather to him day by day. After what you have seen elsewhere of his news, the latest news has come that communications have been completely cut

off between Cairo and Berber, and that the masses of rebels are increasing around the city of Berber, with the aim of besieging it. It is likely that they will attack the city soon and join battle with its garrison, in a decisive battle. The governor of Berber has wearied of pressing the government to send English troops to relieve the city and save its garrison, otherwise they would perish. What then is the result of this situation? The affairs of the Egyptians are in confusion, and this has changed the opinion of the Egyptians in them, and cut off their hope of fulfilling their promises. It has created in the souls of their princes a deep anger, and stirred their hearts.

The wise know that the solution to the problem is to hand over the government of their country to them, as the pressure of necessity dictates. They may be forced, by necessity, to respond to Muhammad Ahmad's call, or to help him in some of his actions, or to fail him and open the doors to him. We do not think it is hidden from England that the scholars of Egypt are the teachers of Muslim scholars East and West, and that Al-Azhar Mosque is the institute of religious sciences, to which caravans travel from all regions, and which Muslims from every direction seek out to study and transmit the religion. If hardship afflicts them and patience fails them, and they see the authority of the religion in the hands of those who are not of them, then a mere hint, a subtle sign of agreement with Muhammad Ahmad, whether in secret or in public, would be enough to ignite the fire of sedition in all parts of the Islamic lands, and to make hearts race to believe in the claimant and to devote themselves under his banner. The English state cannot control the desires of hearts or the movements of thoughts, and its iron weapons cannot disperse the hosts of thoughts. How different is this sedition from the one they call the 'Urabi sedition—we ask God for well-being and a good outcome.

News Section — Chapter 32: The English Newspapers and Al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqa

If we had called upon the heedless to pay attention, and the sleeping to awaken, and those distracted by their fortunes, their hopes, or their illusions, to turn their attention; if we had warned the people of Egypt that if the English firmly established their feet in their land, they would hold people accountable for their innermost thoughts, the stirrings of their hearts, indeed for the very readiness of their minds, and for what might cross their minds, the people would have said we were exaggerating in our warnings and overdoing our cautions. If we had told them that the English punish children for the sins of their fathers, and grandchildren for the crimes of their grandparents, and demand from the descendants the treasures of their ancestors, even if the successors have no knowledge of what their predecessors left behind, they would have considered this talk to be extravagant, and would have turned away from it. If we had narrated to them that in the hearts of the English there is malice and rancour against every Iranian, whether of the Kurds or the Turks, and that they will be severely vengeful when they take over the kingdom of India and Iran, because Nadir Shah—one of the Persian kings—came to India as a conqueror

during the time of the Timurid Sultanate, and seized the treasures of Delhi and took them to his own country, before the English took control of that kingdom, more than a century ago, and they bite their fingers in rage and burn their innards in regret over what Nadir took of Delhi's wealth, depriving them of it, and they place this burden on the shoulders of every Iranian, thinking this is a great matter. If we had recounted to them how the English treat their subjects in India in general, and the Muslims in particular, and that it is enough to exile a Muslim scholar to the Andaman Islands[40] for him to admit that he believes in some verses of the Qur'an, they would have denied what we said, due to their distance from those regions and their lack of knowledge of their conditions. We are not now in the position of convincing the Egyptians of what we know of the conditions of the English, nor do we want to establish proof of what we know of the judgments of their authority. So we will not mention, explain, narrate, or recount. Rather, we will present to them a sample of their treatment, so that it may be a mirror for those who are insightful, reflecting what has been hidden from them of the necessities of their policy.

When we resolved to establish our newspaper, some of the French editors learned of it, and wrote about it before it appeared, without clarifying its approach or revealing the truth of its course. When the editors of the important English newspapers learned of the news, they were seized by sharpness, and the fire of zeal blazed in them. They warned their government of the effect this newspaper would have on English policy and its influence in the Eastern countries. They insisted on inciting it against it, and urged it to take every measure to prevent

the newspaper from entering the Indian and Egyptian lands. Indeed, they went so far as to advise it to oblige the Ottoman state to ban it. All of this was from them before the first issue of our newspaper was published, and before any of them had knowledge of its approach. We say this not to stir passions or to excite sentiments, but only to demonstrate the excessive eagerness to prevent the spread of truth, and the anxiety of some of the heedless to prevent what is good for them. The newspaper has appeared, following the path of moderation, going the way of uprightness and justice, as is clear to everyone who has seen it. Let those who would take heed do so, considering this injustice and aggression, and punishment before the crime. And let the one of a spontaneous nature live happily under a shade with three branches—no shade to shelter, nor protection from the flame. But let the English government know that we are not incapable of spreading our ideas in the Eastern lands, whether through this newspaper or through another means, if the situation calls for it. The supporters of truth are many.

News Section — Chapter 33: Inability and Evasion

The English newspapers and politicians in Britain made a great fuss about General Gordon's success in his mission after he arrived in

Khartoum a few days later. Then the matter turned against them, and they showed alarm at the failure that had befallen him in his efforts, and fear and trembling at the danger that awaited him. They all agreed that what would befall Gordon—death or capture—would be a stain on England's honour forever, a disgrace that could not be erased, and that this great crisis could only be remedied by sending English troops to Khartoum. But in recent days, after the possibility of sending troops was ruled out, the ministers of England have tried to absolve themselves of responsibility by claiming that General Gordon was not ordered to remain in Khartoum for an indefinite period, so as to need military support for what might happen to him. Rather, what was in his instructions was that he should leave the city when he deemed it necessary. Moreover, the General did not request military assistance, so the English ministry is not responsible for what happened to Gordon until it knows his thoughts and the aims of his ambitions, and it has no knowledge of any of that to this day. The orders it sent to him in recent days have not been confirmed to have reached him. The Minister of War also said that his government had considered, a few days ago, sending a military force to Berber, but after careful consideration of the need for it, it decided not to send it. He concluded by saying that his government had not taken it upon itself to restore Egyptian authority in Sudan, nor to establish any government there, and that it now accepts all responsibility directed at it regarding Sudan, and that a small garrison will be stationed at Suakin until an agreement is concluded (between them and Egypt).

The statements of these ministers are not without strangeness. Gordon's proclamations, which he published after entering Khartoum, to the Arab tribes, and his letter to the Mahdi, were not disavowed by the English government. On the contrary, it defended them and rejected the objections raised against them. In them, he stated that he was the governor of Sudan (indeed, the Sultan) on behalf of his government and the Egyptian government, and that by virtue of his authority, he grants Muhammad Ahmad the title of Amir of Kordofan, permits the sale of slaves, and calls the Arabs to obedience. Those proclamations clearly state that his mission was to establish a government in Sudan, to defend the provinces, and that in what he does, he is acting on behalf of his government. Otherwise, he would be a liar, and the government defended his lie, hoping that he would succeed. When he failed, it could not find a way to disown him. Le Temps said that the English Minister of War claims in the House of Commons that General Gordon did not request military aid in Khartoum, while the news that arrived at the Times from him clearly contradicts what the minister said, and confirms that the Governor of Khartoum (the General) was expecting the arrival of English troops at the time he was promised. This was confirmed by all the people of the city.

The government's decision to send a force to Berber was based on this, to open the road to Upper Egypt. But it was prevented by the thought of the hardships and difficulties the soldiers would face, indeed the losses they would suffer. The Pall Mall Gazette attacked the English government, hinting at its blame for its apparent inability and evasion. It said: Let General Gordon know that the English government, after refraining from sending troops to Berber, will find it impossible to send troops to Khartoum. It added: Mr. Power, the English consul in

Khartoum, was expecting military aid day after day, thinking that his government would assist him. But he must now know that it has abandoned him and his companions, and left them to their own devices. He must now manage his own affairs, certain that the English government prefers to evacuate Sudan, exposing its garrison and its men to the followers of Muhammad Ahmad, who will destroy them, rather than prepare any means to save them. It followed this with a sarcastic remark about the ministers, saying: Whoever claims that sending Gordon to Sudan was of no benefit has made a great mistake. The greatest benefit that has resulted from it is the survival of the English ministry and its preservation from collapse. Its life was dependent on his journey from London.

Without it, it would not have escaped the danger that surrounded it, nor would it have remained alive to this day. What a great benefit this is for Egypt and England! It is enough happiness for the two nations that the war cries of the ministry are heard from the pulpits.

Thus, Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues have fumbled in their talk on the Sudanese question, resorting to evasion and absolving themselves of responsibility after having sent armies and commanders to it, with the aim of quelling the revolution and establishing peace. This is a political decision that followed the military defeat, revealing to us the strength of Muhammad Ahmad and his power, and the despair of the British state in dealing with his affair. It reveals that its intention is to confine itself to fortifying itself south of Egypt's natural borders, indeed to settling in Lower Egypt, to protect the Canal, to control its fertile lands, and to stand at the gates of trade, watching the

movements of passers-by, and escorting those going and coming between East and West, contenting itself with controlling some of the weak among the Egyptians. We do not know what the outcome will be if all of Sudan comes under Muhammad Ahmad's control, and he establishes himself in the base of those vast regions, with no protector except to advance in his march, spreading his call among all the Arab tribes, by whatever means of force or persuasion he can. Will he not then end up sending his dense armies to the borders of Upper Egypt? Perhaps. Indeed, it is likely he will do so.

If he does not, then it is the flame of revolution that spreads by its nature and compels him to follow its course. News came days ago of the rebels cutting the telegraph lines between Aswan and Korosko. Where is Korosko from Aswan? It is close to it, the distance between them being like that between Qena and Aswan. And Aswan is the gateway to Upper Egypt. This is what God has decreed, and the borders of Upper Egypt have become an arena for military movements, which events do not usually portend. Will the Egyptians and the Arab tribes in Fayoum, Beheira, Sharqiyya, and all parts of Egypt remain calm after seeing the weakness and incapacity of the English, and after witnessing a strong flood, whose water is from their own water, flowing towards them, and after their hearts have been constricted and they have become weary of the English conduct in their government? It is likely that their adherence to their creed, especially when it is led by a religious caller, and the constriction they feel from English tyranny, and what they have tasted of the pains of poverty, destitution, humiliation, and disgrace over the past two years, and what they expect of future disasters to their religion and their world if the English foot is firmly planted in Egypt—all of this will

lead them to accept the caller's call with good acceptance and to incline towards him.

When this time comes—and it is not far off—England may find in Egypt another Afghanistan, and fear the appearance of its weakness, so it will hide behind some tricks and pretexts, and summon from the Muslims someone of strong will and great might, to establish peace and ensure security, and then return to its islands, satisfied with a safe return. Perhaps that is not far from reason. And to God is the final return.

News Section — Chapter 34: England and the Army

News came that Admiral Hewett arrived in Massawa carrying precious gifts to the King of Abyssinia. In our previous issue, we hinted that the Admiral's journey to the King was to seek his help. It is now clear that the English state, after its troops failed on the Red Sea coasts and it was unable to equip new soldiers to send to the interior of Sudan, has resorted to seeking help from the King of Abyssinia and asking for his assistance against the Muslims of Sudan. Our good opinion of a civilised state like Britain prevented us from believing

that it would incite a religious war. But it is evident from the reports received this week that England is determined to harm the Muslims in Sudan, simply because they are Muslims, not to quell a revolution nor to promote civilisation. It is likely that this is what has prompted it to extend its hand with precious gifts to the King of Abyssinia.

Otherwise, its nature as a commercial state would not allow it such generosity, and would forbid it from spending unless the profit were multiplied many times over. What profit could be greater for it than to be a means for a rough state to throw a handful of Muslims, who are the sons of its own creed, into the abyss of destruction? However, we still doubt the success of its efforts.

Even if it succeeds in persuading the King of Abyssinia to recklessly enter a war with the Sudanese, what would this war be called? We do not doubt that it is not to break the power of barbarism and to establish the rules of civilisation, for one of the warring parties is not distinguished from the other in its morals, customs, and ideas. Indeed, the Sudanese, having benefited from the Egyptian government for years, are perhaps closer to civilisation than the Abyssinians. It cannot be a war of conquest and expansion, for Abyssinia has no ambition to expand its kingdoms to the western regions of Sudan, nor has this been known in its history. Its utmost aim was to preserve its natural borders from the encroachment of its neighbours. So this has no name other than a religious war, reminding the nations of what has nearly been erased—the Crusades—and igniting in the hearts the fire of religious fanaticism. If England opens the door to this sedition, will not the hearts of the Egyptians burn with this fire? Can this state hope, after that, to have a firm foot among them? Can it be secure that the inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula will not rise under this banner,

which will shelter millions, whose number they know and whose need for its peace they feel?

We think the British government, with its erratic actions, is striving towards what it cannot avoid, and is trying to bring near what is distant—how much it could have done without all of this!

News Section — Chapter 35: Mr. Blount's Opinion on the Egyptian Question (A Free Englishman Who Does Justice to the Egyptians)

Mr. Blount, who is well-known for his love of Muslims and his defence of the Egyptians, when he saw the confusion into which the Egyptian question had fallen, and the severity of the crisis for the English government, and the difficulty of remedying the flaw that had occurred, reflected on a solution to the question and published it in the Times. We would like to publish it in our newspaper in summary, as follows:

· The government of Egypt should be entrusted to an Egyptian ruler, and there should be an independent constitution for the country.

· The Khedive's authority should be restored, and the country should be managed by an Egyptian ministry that is independent in its administration.
· The principle of parliamentary government, which represents the nation, should be established.
· European interference should be limited to financial matters, in the sense of supervision, not control.
· Egypt should be considered an independent state, and its neutrality should be recognised by all powers.
· The laws of liquidation and the privileges of foreigners should be amended.
· Any disputed question should be resolved only by agreement of the European powers.
· There should be no foreign officers in the army.
· The Suez Canal should be considered an international waterway, open to all nations.
· The administration of the country should be in the hands of a government established by the people through their own elections.

News Section — Chapter 36: Britain Pats Tawfiq Pasha on the Back

They say that there was a black, hideous-looking negro, with thick lips, inverted nostrils, protruding eyes with red pupils, an ugly face, a flat nose, and a monstrous appearance. He was carrying a child on a dark night, walking with him through an alley in Baghdad. Every time the child looked at him, he would be terrified, cry, sob, scream, and wail. Whenever the child's fear intensified, the negro would stroke his back and say: Do not be afraid, my son, for I am with you, your companion, and your protector from all evil. After these caresses were repeated by the negro to the child, the child said: My master, my fear and terror is from you, not from the darkness of the night!

This is the state of the English government with the Egyptians. Whenever crises intensify, calamities grow, and disorder increases in the Egyptian lands, the British government pats Tawfiq Pasha and his ministers on the back with its soft hand (though it is the softness of a snake), and it turns to the people, promising them with its gleaming promises, and saying to them: Do not grieve, for I am with you. All the Egyptians, from Tawfiq Pasha down to his ministers and the common people, tremble and cry out: Our fear and terror is from you. Our comfort and reassurance lies in your withdrawal from us and leaving us alone.

News Section — Chapter 37

The Foreign Secretary of England told some of his questioners in the House of Commons: When General Gordon replied to Muhammad Ahmad's last communication, he did not address him by the title of Sultan of Kordofan, but rather addressed his reply with the word "Sheikh." Based on this, the title of Sultan of Kordofan, which General Gordon had granted him, has become null and void. This means that Muhammad Ahmad was deposed from the Sultanate of Kordofan when he aspired to Khartoum and asked the General to enter the religion of Islam. But Muhammad Ahmad did not actually enjoy that nominal sultanate, because he did not accept it when it was offered to him. So do not grieve over this new deposition. Is it not astonishing to hear from the mouths of British politicians such trivialities, after it has been said of them that they are among the most cunning men in the world? Perhaps jokes are among their political methods.

News Section — Chapter 38: The Egyptian and English Question

The English government's involvement in the Egyptian question appears to the observer to be hesitating between advancing and retreating, and the controversy of opinions and desires among the inhabitants of Britain increases as the crises in Egypt intensify. Indeed, the men of opinion in the English nation are two groups: one group pushes its government to declare its sovereignty over the Egyptian lands and to take over its administration—in other words, to annex it to its possessions—and thus to violate the rights of the Ottoman state, the inhabitants of Egypt, and to disregard the rights of all states. This is the group of financial associations and companies, whose doctrine is supported by several newspapers, including the Times. Their clamour and noise awakened thoughts and troubled the minds of the French nation, so the tongues of their newspapers were unleashed with threats and intimidation. The ministerial newspapers and the republican party newspapers, which have influence in France, declared that although the French government had held its tongue regarding England's actions in Egypt since it undertook them until now, it does not neglect any of its interests and rights, and all the European states support it. England has no special privilege in Egypt over other states. It is ignorance for a politician to think that the Egyptian question is Egyptian, English, or French. It is a European question. The hour is approaching when the states will openly defend their rights in the Egyptian territories. The states have the right to intervene in solving these problems, since England has failed to fulfil what it undertook of establishing peace in Egypt. Disorder today is worse than at the time of the military movement; the sedition of Sudan is crashing its waves upon the borders of Egypt, and the yellow fever (cholera) may return to those ill-fated lands. All of this is but a result of the English

occupation of the Nile Valley. If England intends to draw its sovereignty or raise its flags of protection over Egypt, then the right of the states to intervene becomes an absolute necessity and a blow that cannot be avoided. However, all these intimidations have not deterred that English faction from its purpose, nor diverted it from its path. Their newspapers continue to clamour for the protection of Egypt, blind to the obstacles and barriers that prevent their government from complying with them.

As for the other faction of the English nation, including the English Home Secretary and Mr. Gladstone—so it is said—they show modesty and purity. Indeed, they declare in their speeches that the British government cannot bear the burden of administering the Egyptian lands, nor can it annex them to its possessions. If it attempted to do so, it would face the strongest opposition from the states, and would likely return in failure. Moreover, it would establish a dangerous precedent, which would open the door for other states to follow. This is what they say on their platforms and claim to be a true reflection of their thoughts. But these modest ones have, at every opportunity, worked to establish their feet in Egypt, and they differ from the first faction only in their public rhetoric. These are the ones who have turned the Egyptian administrations and its high government departments into a secretariat, and have taken control of the military, financial, interior, and judicial affairs. They have acted as owners, dominating the Egyptian officials, binding their hands from performing their work, so much so that the English newspapers have declared that they are

nothing but ghosts and shadows that appear between the walls of the offices morning and evening.

These are the ones whose governors and officials in Egypt are trying to force the inhabitants to draw up a petition requesting the protection and sovereignty of England over them, even if the trick does not succeed. These are the ones who are now trying to change the system of Egyptian finance and have asked the states to hold a conference in London to change the Liquidation Law[28]. They want to make this a pretext for an agreement with the states, so that all Egyptian debts are placed under their guarantee, thus providing them with a justification for taking control of Egypt after a short or long time, or to pave the way for those who succeed them in the English ministries, to achieve the same goal. This is what the English are preparing for themselves. But what do events hold for them? They have undertaken to alleviate the calamities of the Egyptian government in Sudan, and they have granted their commanders brigades, prepared their equipment, and formed their battalions. Their blood was shed, and their efforts were wasted. They thought that some of their losses on the Red Sea coasts were an opportunity to seize Eastern Sudan, but after great effort and a bitter struggle against the naked Arabs, they succeeded only in returning in failure. They contented themselves with holding out in the fortresses of Cairo and what lies beyond it.

But they were disturbed by the roar of the flood advancing upon them from the south, and the raid of the Sudanese revolt on Shendi[38] and its capture, and the intensification of the attack on Berber and Khartoum. Their fear and terror increased with the defection of many tribes near Wadi Halfa and Abu Kamed and... This faction of the rebels... their resolve did not waver, and they were alarmed by what they sensed from the people of Cairo and Lower Egypt of the turning of hearts and

the constriction of souls, to the point that they were forced to increase the guard there, even though the custom of the Egyptians is to be peaceable and quiet.

They intended all this to protect the road to India, out of fear for India. After what we received from our friends in Lahore—that Muhammad Ahmad's call has taken root in the hearts of the Indians, and that even if he were not the Mahdi, necessity would oblige them to believe in him, and that this belief has united their word and strengthened them against the yoke of the English—telegrams have come confirming the truth of what was written to us. The police in Simla found proclamations posted on the walls of the city, inciting Muslims to respond to Muhammad Ahmad's call and to support him. Simla is at the far end of the English Indian possessions, in the north-east, near Lahore. This is what we have been saying and warning about for a long time. These severe shocks that have befallen England after Muhammad Ahmad's affair has grown so strong, are surely enough to convince it that the outcome of the Sudanese revolution is more dangerous to it than the outcome of the movement they called the 'Urabi movement.

The English, with all these restrictive precautions, wanted to establish peace in Egypt. But behold: wealth is being plundered, rights are being wasted, administrations are corrupt, trade is stagnant, agriculture is ruined, injustice is intensifying, and security is lost, even for lives and honour. All of this is acknowledged by their own newspapers and

ministers, and confirmed by the Egyptian national newspapers and the consensus of European politicians, that the misery that has afflicted the people of Egypt after the English intervention—resulting from this intervention—they have not suffered in any period from the time of Muhammad Ali to the present. How excellent are these means that the English have prepared to establish peace in Egypt! And how wonderful are the methods they have used to protect India!

The costs and dangers that have arisen from the vigilance of the English and their preparation for protecting their possessions or expanding them, appear from their clamour when the call of war comes to them, and their confusion about where to recruit soldiers—from India or from England? From their military balances, they have no land power sufficient to maintain vast kingdoms. How then can they manage in Egypt if they dominate it, which, as their Home Secretary said, is considered a European kingdom, where illusions do not prevail, and where the authority of tricks does not last? If not from the Egyptians, then from the Europeans. And what strength can India offer them in a sedition if the period of disorder in Egypt is prolonged? News has come to us from India that the Muslims in general are in a state of intense agitation, and it is feared that a revolt will break out among them when Muhammad Ahmad advances another step.

These bad consequences, and what may be expected of them or worse for the English state, are but links in a chain of its mistakes, starting

from its seizure of Cyprus. It took that island to monitor the road to India, which provoked France to seize Tunis. England then feared that a land army might be sent to the Suez Canal from West Africa, so it worked to cause discord between the soldiers and the ruler in Egypt, using that as a pretext to raid it, and what befell it in that country followed. This prompted France, as we have learned from a reliable source, to seek a route that would allow it to harass the English in Egypt on the western borders. These rivalries may lead to the opening of the Eastern Question[27], and what England would suffer from this question is not insignificant. What fruit has England reaped from what it has planted in these recent years? It has neither protected the door to India from the danger it sought, nor has it quieted the hearts of the Indians. On the contrary, it has opened doors that were closed, and they are about to be opened. If they are opened, they will cause an earthquake in the foundations of the entire world. This is the state of the English and what they do.

And there are those who... we will mention them, and we will explain the paths of their course in their actions, so that those who have hopes in them may be clear-sighted about their affairs.

News Section — Chapter 39: The Terror of the Situation for Gordon

The Times correspondent in Khartoum reported that that city has become a camp for the supporters of the revolution, and their tents surround it from all sides. The projectiles of their weapons fall upon the government house without interruption. Supplies are diminishing, and the danger intensifies day by day. After exhausting every effort to break through the ranks of the rebels with boats sailing to Berber to open a communication route with his garrison, the work was frustrated and the effort failed. The power of the naked ones on the banks of the Nile attacks the boats with their deadly weapons and destroys them. He followed this by saying: Gordon has resolved to save himself by way of Central Africa, having realised that his government is not interested in saving him. He sees that there is no way to reach an agreement with the tribes that have taken the road to Berber except with the help of Zubair Pasha (today he is forced to rely on Zubair Pasha), who is one of his enemies. We see Zubair as a Muslim—if his conscience were to permit him to save Gordon's life, it would not permit that Sudan should be an English dominion. The Extrablatt reported that the English government received a letter from Khartoum stating: “It is not within the power of any human being to control the rebellious tribes from all sides. We have nothing left but to turn to God to disperse them. If divine grace does not answer our prayers, then these tribes will surely plunder and destroy all that is in Khartoum before an English relief force reaches us.” (If only he had asked God

Almighty to solve the Sudanese question and entrusted the matter to Him, and spared himself the journey to Khartoum!)

Latest news has come that the city of Shendi, which lies on the Nile, halfway between Berber and Khartoum, has fallen into the hands of Muhammad Ahmad's men. This came after General Gordon asked his government to send a force to rescue the garrison of that city and its administrative officials, but the government saw fit not to send one. When the situation became critical for the garrison and they lost the ability to defend, a group of about three hundred people resorted to fleeing, charging at the ranks of their besiegers hoping to find a way through, but they could not, and what God had ordained befell them. General Gordon sent a telegram to Cairo complaining that he had not received any news from Sir Baring (England's political agent in Egypt). The Times said: “Perhaps the telegrams Barring sent to him were intercepted by the rebels.” From this newspaper's statement, the English government sent the General to Sudan and left him to his own devices, hoping that his planning would achieve a good result. We see that this government has washed its hands of the General, and this will bring great shame upon it.

The attack of the tribes on Berber intensified, and the resolve of its garrison and inhabitants weakened, and despair seized their hearts. A report came from the governor of Berber to the Egyptian ministry, complaining of this state, saying: It will not be a few days before the rebels capture it and what befell Shendi will befall it. After this, a

telegram came from Cairo stating that Nubar Pasha feared that the tongue of sedition would extend to Aswan. We share this fear, and we add to it the fear of the conflagration in Cairo and the edges of the Egyptian land—there is no power nor might except with God.

News Section — Chapter 40

Every day, England shows a new aspect in its dealings with the Easterners, and the methods it uses to achieve its desires from their lands. It plays with them, toys with them, flatters them, and coaxes them. It promises them, hopes them, frightens them, and reassures them, until the paths of thought become confused for them, and the fields of vision become blurred. Then, after this bewilderment, it leads them to accept its authority and to be content with its rule, indeed to request it from it and to seek it from its generosity. In all its actions, it mocks them and considers them as nothing but simple-minded children, or as cattle that do not reason. It followed this path with some Europeans, and it was alone in the distant Indian regions, with no other state having knowledge of what it was doing in its government there. Then it went further in this direction, and applied it in Egypt, under the eyes of Europe. It intended to call upon the Egyptians to accept its protection, and to raise their pleas to it, so that

perhaps its generosity would allow them the honour of its sovereignty over them. But the trick did not escape the Egyptians, nor did those charlatanisms steal away their minds. It has come in confirmed news that the officials of the English government in Egypt tried to force the inhabitants to draw up a petition requesting the protection of England, so that the request of the people might serve as a justification for it before the states, establishing an excuse for breaking its promises. So that when they are held accountable for its actions in Egypt and its annexation to its possessions, it can claim that it was forced into what it did, and that the people themselves asked it to do so, and it could not refuse their request out of mercy and compassion for them. This is what it is trying to do in Egypt, which is adjacent to Europe, and in which there are more than one hundred thousand Europeans of various nationalities. They will not fail to see through the deceit and will not accept being deceived. They will not do that as long as their souls are in their bodies.

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News Section — Chapter 41: The Opinion of the French Newspapers on the English

The veil has been lifted and the curtain has been torn away from the weakness of the English government and the feebleness of its resolve

in the Egyptian question. No doubt remains about it for any doubter among the European states. Tongues have been unleashed against it, and the swords of blame have been drawn. Among that is what the République Française mocked and ridiculed England about when commenting on an article published in the Pall Mall Gazette. It said: What the English newspapers threaten us with does not frighten us nor make us tremble, after the French have seen the British government's inability to protect Gordon, and learned that a number of Sudanese Arabs penetrated the ranks of the organised English armies, armed with nothing but clubs and swords, and that... it is not possible to hide what happened to them. The weakness of England and its baffling and astonishing impotence on the banks of the Nile cannot be mitigated except with the help of France. Clifford Lloyd has taken the breath away from the Egyptians and choked them with a chokehold of tyranny. He has become their successor to 'Urabi (so they say)—and what a successor! It is to French power that this narrow chokehold, which nearly cut off the breath of the Egyptians, must be undone. As for Europe, it will find its thoughts at ease and its unrest calmed, after it has been alarmed by England's incurable weakness and its limitless ambitions... etc.

So, has what has become clear to the Europeans become clear to the Easterners, or are they still heedless of it?

News Section — Chapter 42: Another Deception

The English, during the previous movement, approached some Egyptians and decorated for them hopes and promises, until they used them to smooth the difficulties before them for entering Egypt and settling there with their troops. They achieved what they wanted, then they turned their backs on them under the veils of pretexts and excuses, and seized the reins of the Egyptian government, directing it as they wished. When the Ottoman state—by virtue of its legal right over those lands—wanted to undertake the resolution of the question known as the military question, and to send some of its troops to establish peace in its lands, in accordance with the wishes of its subjects, the English prevented it and bound its hand from action, without any legal right, political basis, or general desire from the people of Egypt. Today, when the crisis has intensified for the English General Gordon, and they want to rescue him and stop Muhammad Ahmad's movement, necessity has forced them to return to what we have repeatedly pointed out: that this sedition cannot be extinguished by the drizzling of English politics.

This is why the General has seen in recent days that the most effective solution to the problems is to bring in an Ottoman army and send it to those regions. He wrote to his friend Samuel Baker, urging him to approach the wealthy in England and America and to persuade them to

donate two hundred thousand pounds to offer to the Ottoman Sultan, so that he could spend it on two or three thousand Turkish troops, and march them to the regions of Berber and Shendi, thereby ending the Sudanese question and saving the English. He said: This is something that would be of great benefit to them. The General wants to deceive the Ottomans by presenting their interests to them, just as his like had deceived some Egyptians. But far be it from them to be deceived by such illusory fantasies. It is a disgrace for them to accept what General Gordon gathers from the charity of the wealthy in his country to spend on their troops. And it is the greatest disgrace for them to go with their armies to subdue their own lands and subject them to English authority, while the English troops are stationed in the fortresses of Egypt. Yes, if the English were to acknowledge the Ottoman state's rights, and leave its lands to it, and entrust it with restoring peace and quelling the Sudanese sedition, then the state would not hesitate to do what is entrusted to it. Indeed, that is what it hopes for and strives towards. Perhaps events will force Britain to do as Gordon has done, and hand over the matter to its rightful owner. That is not difficult for God.

News Section — Chapter 43: Another Deception

The English stirred up a sedition and it came to be. They raided Egypt under the pretext of its neglect, and bound the states to the promise that their stay in Egypt would be until peace was established, and then they would leave. But after they settled there, they have not ceased, from the day they set foot there to this day, to try to awaken seditions and to work to unleash passions, so that they might have an excuse before the states to prolong their stay in Egypt, hoping that from the fluctuations of European politics they might find an opportunity for a permanent occupation. Among that is what they suggested to the Romans (the Greek community) to celebrate their independence day in a manner unprecedented in Egypt. They adorned for them what they did, using whatever hidden means they could, until the Romans were deceived by their whisperings, and they raised their banners and paraded through the streets of the city, carrying emblems and signs. The aim of all this was to disturb the thoughts of the Egyptians, to stir up old enmities in their souls, to remind them of what had been between them and the Greeks in the days of Ibrahim Pasha, thereby awakening sedition between the inhabitants of Cairo and some Egyptian cities and those who dwell among them of the foreign creeds, and to revive the memory of some abominable incidents whose causes were almost erased after what had happened about two years ago. Then they would make the resulting disorder an excuse for the occupation, or for the postponement of the evacuation.

News Section — Chapter 44: The New Predicament

The course of English policy on the Egyptian question has become twisted, and the Gladstonian ministry, in its continuation to its end, has fallen many times and risen many times. It has ended up in a state of incapacity to fulfil what it had undertaken to the states and to the Ottoman state, regarding the reform of Egyptian affairs, and in a state of great fear of the outcome of these seditions, which have shaken the foundations of the Egyptian system. So it turned to the European states, seeking their help to lighten the burden, and asked them to hold a conference in London. It made the excuse in its invitation to them to participate in the matter, that the Egyptian treasury was empty due to the large expenses and the deficit in revenue, so it could not be managed according to the Liquidation Law, which was established by agreement of the great states. However, it stipulated to the states that the deliberations in the conference should be confined to financial matters, and that they were not allowed to go beyond them to mention anything else about the present or past Egyptian conditions.

The states agreed to enter the conference on a vague condition: that their representatives would discuss what the conference discussed. However, Germany has not yet given an official answer, and it is likely, according to political circles, that it will follow France in its response. Most of the German newspapers agreed on this. France added in its response that the nature of the matters under discussion might not keep the researchers within the limits of examining financial

matters, but would rather lead them to mention many of the current Egyptian problems. This was not hidden from England. Examining the financial situation, given the disorder in the Egyptian lands and the instability of the pillars of peace there, could not but lead to one of two things. Either: the estimation of revenue and expenditure in limited amounts, and the allocation of a specific sum from the revenue for the payment of the interest on the debt, with a reduction of the interest, for example, and then a law would be enacted with the approval of the states, as was done with the Liquidation Law. This is something that the mind cannot conceive of. For the English occupation troops are still in Egypt, and their expenses are borne by the Egyptian treasury, and the period of their stay and their numbers are unknown. The seditions are active in the Sudanese regions, and the Egyptian government is required to stop them at a level that does not disturb the peace of the country. This work has expenses and costs that cannot be determined or estimated. How then can one reach a precise and organised statement of expenses, given the internal disorder and the pervasive chaos in the administrations and the high and low government departments, which has resulted from the English interference and the cessation of useful work—agriculture, trade, and industry? How can the revenue be regulated in a way that is known and familiar? England's purpose in calling for the conference was not to achieve such a trivial and distant goal.

The second matter: that the discussion of financial matters and the examination of revenue and expenditure would lead to what is necessary for the establishment of peace in Egypt in terms of troops,

and the expenses they would require, and what the extinguishing of the Sudanese sedition would demand, and what the new courts would need, and other things that England would present and explain to the states, that Egypt's finances were not capable of meeting all these vast expenses. If it were burdened with some of them, let alone all of them, the interests of the creditors would be harmed. The best way to relieve the Egyptian treasury while preserving the rights of their owners, would be for the Egyptian debts to be under England's guarantee, and it would pay their interest on time. It would then ask the states to entrust it with the administration of the Egyptian territories, and it would take upon itself the burden of spending money and killing people. This is what England could do after its failure, and it would perhaps encroach upon the rights of the Ottoman state in these demands. However, telegrams have conveyed to us what is being discussed in political circles in Istanbul: that the Ottoman state will stipulate, for its acceptance of participation in the conference, difficult conditions that England would find hard to accept, so that the veil might be lifted from its intentions in Egypt. Among these conditions is that the English troops occupying Egypt be replaced by Ottoman troops, because the expenses of the Ottoman armies are less than those of the English armies. This is what is hoped for from the Ottoman state at this time, and it is an opportunity that, if missed, may not come again. The Ottoman state, with its authority over the hearts of Muslims in East and West, has a power that makes the English tremble. The hope of its supporters today is that it will use this formidable power and make it effective in recovering its rights. We believe that the men of the Ottoman state are not heedless of this.

As for the French government, it has firmly resolved to demand that England restore French influence in Egypt as it was before the control. The French newspapers are unanimous in exposing the flaw in English policy, revealing the evil intentions of the English, and urging their government not to recognise any privilege whatsoever based on what it did at the Battle of Tel al-Kebir. This is what the English newspapers generally fear and dread its consequences. We think it will be the worst consequence for them. This concerns their new predicament, which they think is their salvation. There remains for them what we do not think, nor do they think, they can escape. The rebels have entered Berber, as the latest news has reported, and the storms of sedition have played with the borders of Upper Egypt, and the telegrams have confirmed that they have not stopped at its limits, but have stirred the still waters of Lower Egypt. Behind that is more woe. So where is the salvation for England? Yes, a glimmer of truth has shone in the minds of some of its men of opinion, who have asked that the troops sent to Egypt be composed of Ottomans and English. This is a kind of approach to what we have repeatedly said: that this sedition can only be repelled by the Muslims. But they must purify their intentions of the English taint, otherwise there will be no success. And God does what He wills.

News Section — Chapter 45: Al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqa is Distributed for Free!

In its chapters, it deals with the most important matters that have an effect on the conditions of the Easterners in general, and the Muslims in particular. So it is no blame if it goes into detail on a general Eastern matter, nor if it omits some news from America and Japan. In its first issue, it promised that those who run it are men of zeal in the East who have undertaken works that benefit their homelands and their creed, while observing justice and following wisdom. Whoever thinks that its free distribution means that it is subservient to any state or to any person of high rank or ambition—we tell him: Do not despair of the rise of the ambitions of some Muslims for a small work like this, and none despair of the spirit of God except the disbelieving people. This is a newspaper in which there is no room for mutual attacks and slander. No person's name or title is mentioned except if his word or action is useful to discuss for the general benefit.

News Section — Chapter 46: Riyad Pasha and English Policy

News came to us, and the newspapers reported it, of a council that was held in the palace of Tawfiq Pasha in Cairo. It was attended by the ministers of the Egyptian government, and it was attended by Sharif Pasha, Riyad, Sultan Pasha, Umar Pasha, Lutfi Pasha, Khayri Pasha, and Thabit Pasha. Most of the important French newspapers reported the news of this council, and described Riyad Pasha, and mentioned some of his characteristics, including that he is the most upright of princes in the Egyptian lands, and the most careful of them in preserving integrity, and that he is the most farsighted of his people regarding the consequences of the events that have befallen Egypt and their outcome. He saw from the beginning of those events that their fate would be something not good for the country. Those newspapers remained silent about what concerns the rest of the council members. We will mention the news first, then follow it with what the service of truth calls for.

After the council convened, Nubar Pasha stood up and opened the speech with a talk he addressed to the attendees, saying: What do you think of the solution if we assume that the cities of Khartoum, Berber, and Dongola have fallen into the hands of Muhammad Ahmad and his followers? And what method can be adopted to preserve security and establish peace in Upper Egypt (the Sa'id)? The attendees were surprised by the question, and signs of astonishment appeared on their faces at his unexpected presentation of it to them. Then they answered with one voice: There is no way to secure the country from the danger of sedition except by using force. Nubar Pasha said: We ask you to

specify the type of force that should be used (i.e., English or Egyptian force). Riyad Pasha answered him: The determination of the force is your own prerogative, and it is not our concern to speak about it. Then one of the attendees (we do not know him, and perhaps he is one of the lovers of their country) excelled in his answer and perfected the analogy, saying: What we know is that an omelette cannot be made without eggs (an omelette is a dish made from eggs with some vegetables, known to the Egyptians and most Arabs. The main ingredient of this dish is eggs). So the esteemed member meant to say: To use force, its essence must be English troops, and it would not be bad to add some Egyptian soldiers to serve as a shield to be pushed in the faces of the fighters, and to turn its strength against them. If failure occurs and the necessity for flight arises, the English troops can march away... leaving their shields to be a cover and protection for those with them from their masters (this is what his excellency the member intended with his eloquent analogy).

After this, Riyad Pasha said: You ask us to determine the force, but I ask you: What is the force that is in your hands, and by what right do you sit in this council and interfere in every affair, small or large? As for Sharif Pasha, he said that he had exerted his effort for a long time to satisfy the English government to send an English army to Sudan (this is a matter of wonder). But he learned that Nubar Pasha wanted to end the matter by evacuating the Sudanese territories. Nubar Pasha said: The discussion has strayed from its subject and turned away from its direction. But I remind the members of the assembly that they were only called upon to express their opinions on what should be done.

Riyad Pasha answered him: You have a Consultative Council, so it would have been more appropriate to consult it. Until now, we do not know any reason for summoning us, with the existence of that council. Nubar Pasha tried to counter this by saying that the Consultative Council is not within its purview to examine such matters. Riyad Pasha said: There can be no reform as long as work is proceeding according to what Lord Dufferin established, which he called a system. He has no part in the principles of that system, and it is not possible to implement any one of them. The corruptions, chaos, and disorder that have occurred have been caused only by the English state. It is England that must treat this disease, and it is not upon us. I have said this many times and conveyed it to Lord Dufferin, and I am ready to repeat it and to show him my organised plan. But Sharif Pasha came with what was not expected of him, defending Dufferin's system, saying that reform is achieved gradually, as if he meant by what he said that the content of Lord Dufferin's law could be a law whose implementation would bring some benefit to the people of Egypt. We did not think that someone like Sharif Pasha would hold such an opinion after matters had reached what they had reached.

After this, Riyad Pasha said: I do not understand the word "protector" (protection), nor do I know what is meant by it. But I see no middle ground between two things: either the annexation of the country to the English government, so that it takes over its administration entirely or partially, and this is what I understand from those expressions; or leaving the country to its people, so that men from among its people take the reins of authority, and to them belongs the decision-making in

its administration. So adopt one of the two doctrines, for the claim of a middle ground between them is a kind of madness.

It is not surprising that such words should come from Riyad Pasha. We have known him as a man of national life and feeling for what is necessary to preserve this life, which is the noblest kind of life. When he speaks, he scatters words from a will arising from a thought stirred by a vital force. We wish that his example were common among many in the Egyptian lands, who would speak as he speaks, especially after these terrible events have befallen them, and they have seen the future of their country in its present. He has performed a duty incumbent upon him, and the one who performs a duty may be thanked when those charged with it have neglected it, until it has become like optional acts of worship or the aversion of disliked things. But we are amazed at the rest of the members of this council, how they were silent and stayed still, and were unable to express what is in their consciences.

We do not know of any one of them who has taken English nationality, and far be it from all of them. Nor does it cross our minds that an Egyptian, a Turk, or any Easterner—whoever he may be—would sincerely incline towards the English and sincerely desire their continued presence and their ruling over them, especially those princes whose names have been mentioned. Indeed, if the veil were lifted from the heart of each one of them, we would see him melting with grief at what has befallen his country, and perishing with sorrow at

what has befallen his homeland, with the armies of foreigners roaming its borders, and dissolving with distress at the consequences of the foreign force—the constriction of souls, the cutting off of hopes, general disorder, and the prevalence of poverty, destitution, and the stagnation of work. Indeed, if the pen were to describe the state of one of those princes when the news of the English intervention in the departments of his government reaches his ears, and the binding of the hands of the officials of his nation from performing what they owe to their country, and the stretching of the hands of those foreigners in spending from his wealth and the wealth of his family, relatives, loved ones, and all his fellow citizens, without any legal right or national interest; or when he sees a wealthy man impoverished, a mighty man humiliated, a clothed man stripped, and a free man on the brink of destruction from the pressure of injustice—if the power of expression were to rise to explain what appears on his face of the colours of gloom, and in his limbs of the types of trembling, and what his heart beats with, and what his thought creates of the stirrings of worries and the thoughts of sorrows—the pen would not be able to express it, and the power of speech would stop short of describing even a little of much.

This is what no one of them can be absolved of, even if he were to present a thousand proofs of innocence. How could it be otherwise, when they know that their honour, authority, and what they have attained of the ranks of honour and elevation, was only through their administration of the country's affairs, their competence for undertaking its responsibilities, and their readiness to manage the

affairs of the subjects? They are certain that if a foreigner were to rule in their lands, there would be no motive for him to preserve what they have of honour and authority. On the contrary, he would have strong motives to humiliate them and bring them down to the lowest stations, to succeed them in what they had been. So what held their tongues back from speaking? Is it fear? And of what are they afraid? And what could the English do to their lives or their wealth if they spoke the truth and declared their rejection? What would the English do to them if they knew their truthfulness in loving their homelands, and the agreement of their word in desiring to save them? Have they learned from the justice of the English that they punish people for expressing their opinions when they are asked for advice? If this is the case, what do they seek from life? Do they think that if the English sense an agreement of opinions on a matter concerning the interests of the country, even if it is in their departure from Egypt, they could, under the eyes of Europe, bring harm to those who agree, who are the princes and notables of the country? Riyad Pasha alone was not afraid to express his opinion. So what harm would it have done to the national princes if they had supported him or aided him? Does not the destruction of a nation from its fear of voicing its opinion and its silence in the face of events become a cause for the gathering of its word and the unification of its opinion against it? What we see today of the happiness of the great nations was only the result of the pains of misery, which made them forget their mutual grudges and hatreds, and carried them in a single direction, so that they became united and strong. We have not heard of a nation that agreed and failed, nor a creed that was divided and succeeded.

Do our princes not know that Europe is lying in wait for England, waiting for its misstep and wishing for its error? And that all ears in the European kingdoms are straining to hear a word agreed upon by the notables of Egypt: We are capable of reforming our own affairs, and we do not want a foreign force to settle in our land. The necks of the politicians in Europe have been stretched and their spines have been bent towards the Egyptians, to hear a word from them, until their necks have grown weary and their nerves have been strained, and the Egyptians are stingy with it. What are the Egyptian princes waiting for in speaking the truth? The nations do not ask them to declare war or to sacrifice lives. They only ask them for a decisive word that would bring them no harm nor bring them near any danger. There is no power nor might except with God.

News Section — Chapter 47: Sudan

We mentioned in the previous issue that the city of Berber was on the verge of falling into the hands of the rebels. News of this week has come that the governor of the city, after a long and persistent appeal to the Egyptian government to send him military aid, did not receive a favourable response. The English ministry did not consider it wise. Based on what the English government deemed fit, orders were issued

to the governor, "Hassan Pasha Khalifa," to evacuate the city as quickly as possible. He began evacuating it, retreating with the garrison northwards to Korosko, and sent a detachment of one hundred and fifty soldiers ahead of him. After a few days, he would send the rest, according to the orders he had received. It is likely that the evacuation of the city will not be completed without combat and bloodshed. Nevertheless, the governor hoped to save the entire garrison and send them to Korosko before the arrival of Muhammad Ahmad's envoys. It has been confirmed that four companies of reserve troops (Bashi-Bozuks), along with five hundred Egyptian soldiers (all from the Berber garrison), have defected to the followers of Muhammad Ahmad. It is feared that after capturing Berber, the rebels will besiege several other cities in a short time.

The English Times said: All the tribes and the inhabitants of the lands beyond Berber have risen, and no messengers can be found who dare to travel to Khartoum to deliver correspondence... It also said: The latest news from Egypt confirms to us that the hearts of the (Egyptian) people are overflowing with rage and anger against the English, and that there is no one in Egypt who would like to see an Englishman set foot in his country (this is what we have repeatedly said, so praise be to God, the opponent has confirmed it, and the dispute is settled). It then followed this statement by saying that there is nothing in Egypt now that can truly be reported except "disorder and chaos." What Egypt is like today can be expressed by these two words. Communication with Khartoum has become almost impossible. Then it said: Yes, the English government has declared that it cannot send

troops to Sudan for four months, but does it not have other means to repair the chaos it has brought upon Egypt? The most successful means is to leave the country to its people, and to entrust the matter to the rightful legal authority over those lands. According to the noble hadith, the believers... the rulers... and the extinguishments of the fires of sedition. Perhaps the Times will, after a few days, return to agreeing with us on its confirmation of the Egyptians' hatred of the English, and we may see it denying what we said twenty-five days ago, and exaggerating the people's inclination to English rule over them.

The newspapers reported that a spy learned of Uthman Digna's intention in the Suakin region, so he came and informed them that he was ready to advance with two thousand fighters to Handuk to cut the road, and that after that he would not stop short of attacking the borders of Suakin with great force.

Le Temps reported that the entry of the rebels into Berber, although not yet officially confirmed, what the English political agent in that city has reported removes all doubt and eliminates all suspicion that the danger is imminent. A part of its garrison fled to seek safety, and the rest openly joined the rebel ranks. We see the arrival of Muhammad Ahmad's followers in Berber as preparing them to set foot in the heart of Upper Egypt. Would that they stopped there! But their ambitions will extend to Lower Egypt. The officers of the Egyptian garrison in Aswan have received letters from one of the rebel leaders, on Muhammad Ahmad's orders, warning them of an evil end and

threatening them with death and slaughter if they do not leave the city within ten days. Then that newspaper said: When Muhammad Ahmad's forces gather at the first cataract, then it will be necessary to consider how to defend Cairo! This is what we were expecting and fearing before, and we have repeatedly pointed it out. Events have confirmed it, and the French and English newspapers have spoken of it. Nothing remains but for those newspapers to turn their attention to the cure for this ailment and the treatment of this disease, which has nearly become chronic, and to alert their governments to examine it with the utmost precision and care, and to guide them to the fact that the only cure is to hand over the matter to those who have the right to it and who know the ways to manage it—the Muslims. We will see them, after a few days, follow this straight path.

News Section — Chapter 48: A Harsh Punishment

The English entered Egypt and claimed that what existed of the Egyptian troops had been instilled with a spirit of rebellion, rendering them unfit for military service, so they dismissed them. Then they selected new soldiers from the inhabitants in small numbers, and placed them under the command of their skilled officers. After a few months, they praised them for their good order and rapid success, and

their newspapers boasted about them. But we soon saw them rushing to dismiss the new soldiers. They tried this several times, with the intention of not replacing them with others from the sons of the homeland. Whenever some political obstacles prevented them from their purpose, they would conceal their intention for a while, then return to hinting at it, using as a pretext what they attributed to some soldiers—which was one of their own intrigues. Finally, their voices faded, and they felt unable to arbitrarily dismiss the national garrison, and they learned that the consultation of the states was necessary for this. In recent days, they have asked the states to hold a conference to review the Liquidation Law and amend it, and to establish a system for Egyptian finance that would alleviate some of its burdens. In their memorandum sent to the European governments, they declared the necessity of dismissing the national troops for the sake of economy, and the need to reduce the interest on the Egyptian debts.

Six years ago, the English used some financial difficulties in Egypt as a pretext for the great upheaval that occurred in Egypt. They obliged the Ottoman state to go along with them in that upheaval, and they defended the creditors, claiming it was impossible to reduce any of the interest. They asked the Egyptian government at that time to reduce the size of its garrison, so that funds would be available to pay the rights of the creditors. Today, they have turned to the Egyptians (with the compassion of a merciful father) and extended their hands to the states, seeking their help to reduce the interest, along with abolishing their national garrison. Is Egypt not like other countries of the world, in need of a garrison to protect its borders from without and to secure

its interior from the calamities that no government can be sure will not befall it? In that first harshness and this second mercy, there is a great secret.

The English have had ambitions in Egypt for a long time, considering their authority over it as a necessity for their power in India. They believe that if the Egyptians had great financial resources and military strength, they would oppose what they wanted in their lands. So they squeezed the finances at that time and forced the government to tear apart its military strength, so that weakness would occur in both the financial and military powers, thus paving the way for their ambition. This scheme was the cause of the upheaval that followed these terrible events. After the government's weakness opened the way for them to intervene in Egypt, they began to strive, according to their nature, to move towards their goals, seeking a name other than "possession" to justify the stationing of their troops and officials, so that they might have a position among the states, and to buy time, waiting for events in European politics that might help them replace that name with what they really wanted. They saw that one of the best ways to invite the states to them was to present the financial question. Since the retention of their troops in Egypt was inevitable in their view, they had to find a way to expel the Egyptian soldiers, so that the need for their own troops would remain. This method may have escaped the Egyptians and eluded many Europeans, but it is one of the well-known methods of the English, which they used in the Indian lands, and by which they achieved absolute power over those vast regions without shedding much blood or encountering severe resistance.

The English entered the Indian lands and spread among them. They succeeded in dividing the word of the princes and inciting each Nawab and Rajah to seek independence and secession from the Timurid Sultanate. The kingdom was thus fragmented into small states. Then they incited each prince against another, seeking to subdue and dominate his kingdom, turning the vast Indian lands into battlefields. Each Nawab and Rajah was forced to spend money and raise troops to defend his right or to overcome his enemy. At that point, the English stepped in with open hearts and generous spirits, extending their hands to help each of the disputants, spreading one of their hands with gold and grasping with the other the sword of victory. Before anything else, they began to scare those small princes away from their own national troops, accusing them of weakness, cowardice, treachery, and disorder. Then they began to magnify the importance of their English armies and their commanders, and their strength, valour, and order, until each Nawab and Rajah became convinced that he had no supporter to overcome his opponent except with English troops. The English then approached those simple princes, guaranteeing each one the protection of his kingdom and victory over his rivals, with regular troops under the command of English officers, composed partly of Indians and partly of British soldiers. The ruler had only to pay their expenses. Then they captivated the minds of those princes with their cunning, the pomp of their promises, and the sweetness of their speech, until they persuaded them to have a force of troops near the capital of each ruler, to protect them from each other. The English thus became the guardians of the mutually hostile princes. They gave each of those

troops a name that suited the taste of the government they were prepared to protect: some they called "Umariyya," others "Ja'fariyya," and others "Kashtiyya," to please the Sunnis, the Shi'as, and the polytheists.

When the treasuries of the rulers were emptied and their wealth was insufficient to pay the military expenses, the English opened their treasuries and showed great leniency in lending to those rulers. Some they lent at low interest, and some without interest, waiting for times of ease. Until each prince thought that God had sent him helpers from heaven. After a long time, they would gently hint at the repayment of their debts, and with the utmost kindness refer to the payment of the troops' expenses. When the prince was unable to pay, they would say: We know that it is difficult for you to repay your debts and to meet the expenses of the troops. We advise you to entrust to us the management of such-and-such a piece of land, so that we may cultivate it, collect from it what is owed to us, and spend from its produce on the armies we have established for you. The land is still your land, and we will return it to you when we have been repaid and have no further need. We are only your servants. So they would lay their hands on the best and most fertile lands. During their exploitation of them, they would establish fortified castles and impregnable fortresses there, just as they do in the cantonments of their troops at the gates of the Indian capitals. During this time, they would open for the princes doors of extravagance and waste, lending them money, and then collecting their loans by taking control of other lands, adding them to the first. Then they would fan the flames of enmity between the rulers, so that wars

would break out between them, and they would intervene in the peace, forcing one of the warring parties to cede part of his lands to the other, so that the second would cede a piece of his land to them. In all their actions, they are marked as the faithful servant and the trustworthy advisor to each of the contenders.

After this, they have their own affairs, which they do not neglect, in sowing discord among all the inhabitants, so that internal unity is weakened, and they destroy each other's houses. When the process reaches its end, and all powers, both ruler and ruled, are dissolved, and hands are tied so that no one can move, they lead the ruler to the slaughter with the swords of those very troops that were his protectors and the guardians of his country, and which had been sharpened for his neck for long years, while he spent his money on their maintenance. Then they succeeded him in his kingdom. They would incline with their power to one member of the royal family, to claim the kingdom, and they would depose the ruler and appoint the claimant, on the condition that he would grant them a piece of land or a privilege. Thus, they transferred the kingdom from father to son, from brother to brother, and from uncle to nephew. In all cases, they were the winners. This is their course in India, which is far from the watchful eye of Europe. They never surprised anyone with war, nor did they seize a kingdom by force. Indeed, they never declared their sovereignty over a small or large kingdom until they were certain that the ruler had no power, nor his people, nor their ability to defend themselves.

Those English are the plagues of the world and the masters of tricks. They now want to expel the Egyptian troops, and Egypt's land is not guarded by angels, so it cannot do without a garrison. If they achieve what they want, they will adorn for some of those in power in Egypt the request for English troops to be his servants and the protectors of his kingdom. If he refuses, they will use their tricks under the veils of deception on everyone who has the right of authority over those lands, offering it to them until they find someone who accepts their advice or their deception, unaware of the true intention. They will then establish him as the ruler to succeed the one whose conscience did not permit him to accept. The desire of the deceived one will be their justification before Europe. This is the secret of the English reversal against the national troops, and their slander of their conduct after praising them for their good order and discipline, and their seeking to dismiss them with weak and flimsy excuses. As for the conference, the reason for it is that aggression in these times does not come as it did in past ages, open and ugly, known to the clever and the foolish alike. Whoever wants to commit aggression must accompany it with hosts of arguments and processions of proofs, which are what they call rights and interests. How difficult it is to discern the essence of aggression when it is disguised in this cunning and that beautiful form!

The English want to hold the conference and wish to limit its deliberations to the financial question, so that they can guarantee the debts of Egypt, secure for the creditors the payment of their rights, and take upon themselves the responsibility of spending on the Egyptian administrations for a period of time, so that the states may allow them

to stay in the Nile Valley for a time. The authorisation of the states would be their justification for managing the affairs of the Egyptian government as long as peace prevails in Europe. If a war breaks out among the European states—and it is not far off—they will settle in those lands, plant their claws, strike their fangs into its earth, and cast their staff. This is the secret of the English compassion for the Egyptians, and the secret of their wish that the conference should stop at financial matters. This cunning and disastrous policy, which is poised to pounce on the Egyptians, does it touch the side of Germany? No. Germany's real interests have no connection to the Egyptian questions, and it is preoccupied with what is more important. Austria is no closer to the Egyptian disasters than Germany. Neither of the two states is able to support its ideas with action, if the Egyptian events touched any of its interests, for their positions do not allow them to harm England. As for Italy, it is calm, with what it hopes to gain in Africa with England's help. Yes, this torrent has rushed upon the house of Muhammad Ali Pasha, and it is feared for the pillars of that house if it does not take care of its affairs!

As for the Ottoman state, if we turn our attention away from its established rights in the Egyptian lands from many aspects, it is not hidden from us that authority over those lands is the greatest pillar of Ottoman power in Syria, a great part of what is connected to it from Asia Minor, and in the Hejaz and Yemen. It is incumbent upon the Ottomans to exert their utmost effort to preserve Egypt, defending their established rights and preserving their power in most of their kingdoms. The laws of kingship do not permit them to be negligent in

the Egyptian question, neither in its particulars nor in its whole. For Egypt is a knot to which the ends of the Ottoman Sultanate are tied. If it is untied, then all the other knots are untied—God forbid. It is not for an Ottoman to recline on the soft cushion of Bismarckian sovereignty. Natural needs and national concerns are of the greatest importance, and there is no consideration in politics for passing phases. Bismarck may want to buy England's friendship with the interests of the Ottomans, to support his policy and to leave France isolated without an ally. He may cast the interests of the Ottomans into the hands of the Russians, if necessity requires it, to ward off an evil he fears.

Bismarck has no greater goal in connecting with the Ottomans than this, and whoever reflects on the conditions of the nations, and what their natures require, will judge this judgment with certainty. Yes, among the states is France, which had advantages in Egypt that have been on the verge of disappearing, and it is not easy for us to see them lost. It has vast possessions beyond the Red Sea, and its authority over those possessions cannot be preserved if the claws of the English are planted in the entrails of Egypt, under any name or title. The principles of French policy do not permit the French to be lax in the Egyptian questions. Russia also competes with England for dominance in Eastern Asia, and rivals Germany in Europe. It has with Germany hidden rivalries, firmly rooted in the elements of the two nations, which this superficial harmony will not remove. It may be part of its policy to join France to harass England in Egypt. Indeed, the nature of the situation of the two nations requires their union in European problems as well. Perhaps this question will be the beginning of the connection between these two states. This opportunity should not be

missed by the Ottomans, nor should past events prevent them from grasping this point.

The Russians are the most in need of union with the Ottoman state at this time, given the doors of gain that have been opened for them in Asia. They see friendship with the Ottomans as a great support in achieving their ambitions in those regions, given the Sultan's high standing in the hearts of his Muslims. The Ottomans should not tremble at the thundering and lightning of the English. They have no weapon to brandish against the Ottoman state except intimidation. It is impossible for them to declare war on it, otherwise their authority in the Eastern lands would shrink. If the state stands firm in its demands and insists on recovering its rights, the English will be forced to submit and yield. This is one of the clearest truths for anyone who knows the conditions of the English in India and the status of the Ottoman Sultan in the hearts of the Indians in general. And God's judgment is executed as He wills.

News Section — Chapter 49: Al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqa

Some of those concerned in their homelands may think that we are stirring up hatred and partisanship among them and their neighbours, and that we are inciting division and discord among those who share

their interests and cooperate with them for long ages. This is not our concern, nor do we incline to it. Our religion does not permit it, nor does our Sharia allow it. Rather, our aim is to warn the Easterners in general, and the Muslims in particular, of the encroachment of foreigners upon them and the corruption in their lands. We may single out the Muslims especially, because they are the dominant element in the regions where foreigners have betrayed them and humiliated all their inhabitants, and have monopolised the best of their wealth... We will say more on this subject, if God wills.

News Section — Chapter 50: Ismail Pasha

Many European newspapers have been talking lately about Ismail Pasha, the former Khedive of Egypt. Among them, the Pall Mall Gazette said: Either England seizes Egypt, or it hands over the administration to Ismail Pasha. One of the editors of this newspaper quoted Madame Novikoff, a well-known friend of Mr. Gladstone, as saying to him: “The best way to establish peace in Egypt and to make Egypt for the Egyptians is to restore Ismail Pasha to it.” A German newspaper mentioned that her words were almost official. As for us, we will state our opinion on this matter, and express our thoughts regarding what concerns the Ottoman Sultan, and the path that should

be followed in it, and what is connected to it of the interest of the Egyptians, and what England should do if it truly wants—as it claims—to extricate itself from the predicament of the Egyptian question. But we do not think it is truthful.

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News Section — Chapter 51

One of the people of Najd wrote us a long letter, in which he relates what the English consul, Mr. Cornel Bailey, who was the consul of his state in the Persian Gulf, based in Bandar Bushire, did, and the means he used to intervene in the lands of Najd in the year 1871, during the time of the Emir of Najd, Emir Faisal. He intended, by narrating this incident, to alert his Egyptian brothers to the strong similarity between those means that the consul used to intervene in the coastal regions of Najd, and what the English adopted as a means to attack Egypt. However, we will not mention it now, as it is old. We will devote a special book to it and its like, in which we will detail what the English did in the lands they tried to seize but could not, despite their persistence. We will print this book and distribute it for free!

News Section — Chapter 52: The Indian Press

The Indian newspapers have come to us, and we were pleased by the moderation of their course in serving their homelands. We were even more pleased by their care in translating our articles related to the conditions of the Easterners in general and the Muslims in particular, and their transmission from the Arabic tongue to the Indian tongue. May God reward them for what they have done. We especially mention among them the newspaper Akhbar-i 'Am (Public News), which is published in Lahore, and which published our articles in its columns. This was our hope in the owners of those newspapers, and it is not strange, given their religious and national zeal. This is what the Muslims of India have done, while they have been in the grip of the English for over a century. We are deeply grieved by what has reached us about some Egyptians—that they refrain from receiving what is sent to them of copies of this newspaper, out of fear and apprehension, while they are in the greatest need of it at this time, for the hopes for their deliverance are strong, and the means to it are near. How can fear lead some of them to refrain from receiving a newspaper that they are more entitled to than others, as its most important content is the defence of them?

News Section — Chapter 53: A Losing Deal

A virtuous friend, one of the most sincere believers in the Egyptian land, wrote to us, saying: The English officials, with the help of the native officials, are striving to deceive the people and to sow intrigues among them, by various means of intimidation and enticement, all so that they might be led to request English protection. But those simple people are not deceived by these tricks, for the just and the unjust among them have realised the intentions of the English and their guile. They have understood that they do not want reform, but rather the destruction of the country and the enslavement of its people. They know that the English view the nation with the eye of deception and destruction, and that they seek to break the resistance of the Egyptian people by destroying their national and patriotic spirit. The greatest proof of this is what happened to the Egyptian man who sold himself to the English to rule Egypt, only to find his freedom seized by their tyranny, and he became a prisoner in their hands. But the people of Egypt resisted their demands with firm resolves and unflinching hearts. This is our opinion—indeed, our certainty—of the people of Egypt, their scholars, princes, rulers, notables, middle classes, and all their classes: that not a single one of them would permit himself to follow the English wish, nor would his heart be content to enter under their sovereignty, nor even to have one of their persons remain in his country and within his sight. If there is found among them one who

takes his desire as his god and inclines to falsehood, he is one whose conduct the Egyptians know, in the wasting of his nights and the passing of his days, so they do not trust him. What the truthful one has informed us of is that Clifford Lloyd is striving to hand over the presidencies of the country to people of a class in whom he imagines there is a weakness of ambition and a shallowness of opinion, so that he might use them to carry out some of his purposes. But he has not succeeded in this. And even if he succeeds in transferring the presidencies from their proper place, he will not find from those to whom he hands them any more than he found from others. For all are Egyptians, who prefer the injustice of their countrymen to the justice of the foreigner. So how would it be if the foreigner's injustice were beyond measure?

Then our virtuous friend said: The misery has increased manifold upon the people through the local councils. The English did not consider the interest of the subjects in their formation; rather, they placed in their essence what would narrow the means of dealing with them, to suppress their spirits, so that they might gain their share of sovereignty over them. They did not know that depriving people of their rights is among the strongest causes of rebellion. There is an Arab proverb: "Feed your dog to the breaking point, and it will eat you"—meaning, starve it. As for the peasants, their conditions are miserable: distress, hardship, poverty, and destitution that break the livers and melt the hearts and would make even the inanimate weep. The government is compelled to demand money and is forced to charge the peasants with paying what they owe, and the foreigners are

engaged in collecting their debts from them. The stagnation and low prices of grains and agricultural produce have not left in the crops enough to meet the necessities of life, let alone to pay the demands. A load of wheat is six piastres, and maize four, and so on. Hence, every day you hear the cawing of the crows of the auctioneers in the courtyard of the legal office over the ruin of the peasants' houses: one calls for the sale of all his lands, another for the sale of some of them, and another for the sequestration of his properties. The government does not cease to demand its taxes before the time of the harvest. As for the conditions of the cities, they are no happier than those of the countryside, especially due to the encroachments of the foreigners on their inhabitants. The disputes and litigations between foreigners and nationals are decided against the national, with fines and penalties, while the foreigner is not held accountable for anything, even if he is the aggressor! If the national asks: Where is my opponent? He is told: He is being tried in another court, even though he did not go to the place of trial at all, and the case was settled with only one of the two litigants. This is a new style of judgment. This is some of the effect of English justice.

And so on. We have not mentioned the oppressive calamities that have afflicted the people of the villages as a result of the English intervention in the government's administrations, for the sake of brevity, as they are clear to those in authority among the Egyptians. As for security, it has left no trace; and as for order, its structure has collapsed and its foundation has been uprooted, and the English have stored its rubble in the museums of antiquities. The bands of thieves

have become strong and have openly plundered and stolen. This is news confirmed by the reports of the Egyptian national newspapers, in Arabic and foreign languages. All of them complain of weariness and boredom from reporting bad news every day. Among the strangest of events is an attack by a band of thieves on the village of Nashart and its surroundings, in the province of Gharbiyya, killing forty-one men. If this report is true, it is evidence that disorder has reached a degree beyond what we had imagined—we ask God for safety. We also ask Him to change the hardship of the Egyptians into ease, and He is able to do all things.

News Section — Chapter 54: Political News

The French government agreed to enter the conference, but on the condition that it does not go to it with its hands tied and its eyes downcast, and that before going to it, there must be communication between it and England regarding what must be the subject of the discussion in that conference. The politicians have agreed on the necessity of extending the discussion to include the administration of the Egyptian lands and the establishment of peace there. The English newspapers show their fear of France's firmness and seek help from Europe. They believe that the intervention of all states in Egypt and

the establishment of an international control over its government, in which one state is not distinguished from another, is the best solution. The Times alone opposed this. In some Russian newspapers, it was stated that England cannot place its protection over Egypt, because it has shown its inability to manage the country after occupying it for two years with unrestricted authority and no rival. After its failure, it turned to the European states. As for France, it is not concerned with restoring the joint control between the two states, but it is concerned that England should not be given a special privilege in Egypt. Many German newspapers mentioned, quoting a reliable source, that the Sublime Porte did not agree to participate in the conference except on the condition that the deliberation in it should not stop at the limits of the financial question, but that it should necessarily include political and administrative matters, as was the case in the Dufferin period in Cairo (in 1883), and that the Ottoman state demands the right to consider the general question, due to the connection of some of its parts with others. Le Temps reported that after consulting with the states, especially France, the Sublime Porte sent a telegram to Musurus Pasha, the Ottoman ambassador in London, stating that it was ready to accept the conference on the condition that it be a discussion of financial, political, and administrative affairs.

A telegram from Tashkent stated that Russia's course in the Egyptian question is in accordance with the wishes of all states, especially Germany, and said that England has become isolated, which does not please Germany. It was understood from Mr. Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons that the representatives of the states, when they

meet, can discuss matters other than the financial question if the states so wish, even though this contradicts what Granville had stated in another session. When Granville was asked about this contradiction, he evaded the answer and said: The government is ready to rescue Gordon (this is laughable)! News from Sudan indicates severity: the governor of Dongola was informed that messengers sent to Khartoum returned and were unable to reach it, and they said that the rebels are besieging Gordon from all sides. A telegram from Cairo stated that the rebels are gathered at 'Ayun Abu Sa'id, near Aswan, and that the leaders of Muhammad Ahmad's army have demanded the surrender of the Dongola garrison within three days, otherwise they would destroy them. A skirmish occurred between some English troops and the Arabs encamped on the shores of... and several people were killed. News is continuous that Uthman Digna is trying to attack Suakin, and is fighting some of the tribes that have not submitted to Muhammad Ahmad's call near Tamanieb. Gladstone has promised to send a supply to the troops to protect them from the heat and the climate, then he showed his reluctance to fight the Sudanese who are defending their freedom and their lands.

News Section — Chapter 55: The Egyptian Question is International

We warned the English of a danger near to India, and we hinted in the first issue of our newspaper that the Turkmen of Merv might choose to submit to the Russian government, and that this might lead the Turkmens of Sarakhs to follow their example. We pointed out what would follow from that, which would be a punishment for the English. Today, what we expected has happened. Russia has taken control of Sarakhs and has bordered the Afghan government. The English trembled with fear and were overcome by terror and anxiety. Their newspapers wailed and sobbed, and they felt the nearness of the end. We do not know if the English are aware of what we have repeatedly warned them about—that the word "Sarakhs" refers to two cities, an old one and a new one; it was the first of them that entered into the Russian sphere. The English know that the two cities are connected, separated only by a small canal (the Tejend River), about ten cubits wide. Indeed, Sarakhs, which the English military engineers have judged to be the gate of India from the north, and the passage of its conquerors from ancient times, through which Alexander the Great and Nadir Shah of Persia entered India, and the arrival of the Russians there would breach the fence of India—that is the old Sarakhs. What increased the English terror and confusion was that the Turkmens residing in that city and its surroundings were the ones who offered themselves to the Russian government voluntarily and by choice. They sent a delegation from among them to represent them in presenting their submission to Prince Dundukov, the governor of the Russian provinces beyond the Caspian Sea. The delegation arrived in Ashgabat and stayed there awaiting the Prince's arrival.

The English have now fallen between two great evils: an immediate danger and a deferred terror. As for the second, it is that Russia will either unite with the Afghans and ally with them to hunt down the English—and this is the closest and most expected—so they will become one hand in demolishing the foundations of the English Indian government. It is not hidden what every Afghan harbours for every Englishman of rancour and enmity. The Afghans are a warlike people who confront death with their foreheads. How would it be if they found a strong helper? Or the Afghan government will incline towards the English, which is almost impossible. Then battles would soon break out between the various tribes under the Afghan government, such as the Jamshidis and the Firuzkuhis, and the Turkmen tribes neighbouring them, to be followed by a war between the Russians and the English, because each of the two states would be forced to defend its ally. Indeed, the Russians have the right to fight for their Turkmen subjects. If the Russians advance into Afghan lands, the English ropes will be cut, and their means of defence will be cut off. This will be the end of their life in India.

As for the immediate danger, it is that the Indians, upon hearing the news of the Russian capture of Sarakhs, will ignite the fire of a general revolution, seeking in its light a way of deliverance from the hardship and distress that has encompassed them, and a path of salvation from the woe that the injustices of the English have brought upon them. This will happen just as the flames of sedition blazed in 1857, when the news of Nasir al-Din Shah of Iran's capture of Herat reached the Indians. Indeed, the revolt of India against the English is nearer today; the thoughts of the Muslims among its inhabitants are in intense agitation due to what has spread among them of the call of

Muhammad Ahmad the Sudanese, indeed, due to what has taken root in their desires of inclination to believe in him. This call has a momentum in India that cannot be resisted by the measures of the British state. England wants to prevent the Muslims from making the pilgrimage to the Sacred House of God this year, and perhaps in the years after, so that news of Muhammad Ahmad and the English involvement in resisting him does not reach the ears of the Indians. But this news will be carried to those regions by the Afghan and Baluch pilgrims, who travel to the Hajj by way of Basra and Kuwait. Indeed, they will convey it in a more effective way than if they had heard it with their own ears.

This is a lesson for the English state. It must act with a sincere resolve, a truthful determination, and an effort worthy of its status among the nations. The Ottoman Sultan must remember that he is the successor to those great ancestors who did not waste their rights and did not neglect their duties. He must recover Egypt from their hands and purify it from the germs of corruption. He must not be content with less than the right, and he must not leave them any say in it except as they are equal to other states. The Ottomans must not miss the opportunity of this confusion into which the English have fallen, as the Persians missed the opportunity to benefit from the Indian revolt in past days, because the news of the revolt reached them late. Otherwise, they would have struck the English and achieved the utmost harm to them. The Ottomans must remedy the matter before the English ignite a crusade between Abyssinia and the Muslims, at the expense of the Egyptian government. The Ottoman state must not

be lax in its demands, nor shrink from defending its established rights, nor fear the threats and clamour of the English. Many states, despite their differing political purposes, will support it in liberating Egypt from the claws of the English, as the proclamations of the newspapers and their reports of the intentions of politicians from every state indicate.

Indeed, what is understood from the sum of their articles is that there is no state that would agree to the conference being a means for the English to seize Egypt or to place it under their protection. Especially France and Russia. Here is a sample of the opinions of the newspapers and what they convey from the politicians. The Times correspondent in Paris said: “France has not accepted and will not accept that the discussion of the conference should be confined to financial matters.” France was right in its insistence on demanding a joint control between it and England, and its desire for a control in which all states participate, for in that there are great benefits for it and for others. I do not think that the English government has agreed to what France wants, nor do I think that France will be lax in what it wants. On this basis, either the conference will be held and its deliberations will not be confined to financial problems, or it will not be held at all. England has no hope except in hiding under its tricks, which is to ask the states to hold two successive conferences: the first for financial matters, and after it, the second would be held to consider what the first did not consider. The representatives of Germany, Austria, and Italy have agreed to agree on the Egyptian question.

They all declared that they would not wait long after what has happened of events, with what is expected to befall Egypt of disasters. The opinion of the three states was settled on intervening at the appropriate time, and their trust in the course of the English ministry

has been dissolved. A telegram came from Vienna to the French newspaper Le Temps, which is semi-official, from its offices, saying: “I met with great men in that city and inquired about their opinions on the Egyptian question.” They differed in opinion. Some of them thought that it was incumbent upon Austria to stand aside from this question and to give more room to Italy, for if it did so, it would please Italy without harming its own interests, and it would agree with Germany's wishes. Some others thought that their government could not abandon its interests in Egypt to please Italy, indeed, it could not do so. He who thinks that Austria has no interests in Egypt is mistaken. Then the writer said: “I met with a politician known for his freedom of thought and accuracy of opinion, and among his words was: Germany may make the Egyptian question a means to please the Italians, by giving them a high position in it, because Germany has no naval power and does not care what happens in the Mediterranean except indirectly.

As for Austria, it has an important centre in that sea, so its situation in this regard differs from that of Germany. Moreover, the movements of land policy must inevitably be reflected in that sea, which increases its eagerness to strengthen its position in it. The Egyptian question is like the knot of the balance of power between the two states, and the degree of the first determines the degree of the second.” He then went on at length about the political harmony between Austria and Italy, and what each of them aspires to. However, this does not prevent the two states from agreeing to oppose the English and to lower their status in Egypt and the Mediterranean. As for the French newspapers and their politicians, they are of one opinion on the necessity of transforming the Egyptian question from being an English one to an international European one. The souls of the states have been

persuaded to this, and their thoughts have inclined to it. We ask God for a good outcome, and to Him is the final return.

News Section — Chapter 56: Al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqa (Its Confiscation in Egypt and India, and the Imposition of a Fine on Its Readers!)

The Egyptian Council of Ministers met in Cairo and was concerned with discussing the matter of Al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqa. It then issued its decision to the Egyptian Ministry of the Interior, ordering it to strictly prevent this newspaper from entering the Egyptian territories and to confiscate it in those regions. The Ministry of the Interior accordingly sent a letter to the General Post Office, obliging it to be strict in this. We have learned that the official newspaper, after publishing the text of the orders, announced that anyone found with Al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqa would be fined an amount ranging from five Egyptian pounds to twenty-five pounds (a heavy fine, perhaps caused by the financial difficulty of Egypt, thanks to the English intervention in Egypt)!

As for us, we do not think that any of the Egyptian ministers had any choice in this decision. Indeed, we do not imagine that the one seated on the Khedivial throne would incline to such a judgment. Nor does it cross our minds that any Egyptian, of any persuasion—whether Muslim or non-Muslim—or indeed any Easterner residing in those lands, would see in it any justice. This is a newspaper that has undertaken the defence of the Egyptians and their rescue. It has strived—indeed, all its striving—to frustrate the hopes of their enemies. Its approach is not to praise Zayd nor to disparage 'Amr. The goal is higher and loftier than that. Its work is to pour the waters of sincere advice on the flame of enmities, so that the hearts of the Easterners in general may be united in purity and friendship. It seeks from the sons of the Eastern nations that they cast aside the weapons of discord among themselves, and take up their weapons and their caution to repel the predators that have opened their mouths to devour them. It is its opinion that internal disputes should only be dealt with after security from external attacks. This is the approach of Al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqa, known to everyone who has read what has been published in it from its inception to this day.

How then could it cross the mind of a sane person that an Easterner, Muslim or otherwise, would incline to have it banned from his country? But we know that the actions of those in authority in Egypt these days are coercive, with no element of choice in them. The one who turns the mill of coercion on them is the English agents. We do not want to say to the English that they have been unjust in their judgment. The newspaper has not contained anything, to this day, beyond what the national and foreign newspapers publish of revealing their secrets and exposing the calamities that have befallen Egypt as a result of their presence. It is the English who, when they learned of the

fame of a scholar among the Muslim scholars in India, and the people's reception of him with respect, quickly brought him to the police station. When he arrives there, the officer opens a copy of the Qur'an or a famous book of Hadith, and points to a verse of jihad or a hadith that calls for it, and asks him: “Do you believe in this verse or hadith?” If he says: “Yes,” he says to him: “Then based on that, it is your opinion that jihad against us is obligatory.”

If he answers: “I am a dervish who keeps to isolation from people, and my belief in this is only because it is a religious book,” the officer gives him a deadline of four days or less, in which he must state his opinion on the verse or hadith. If the deadline passes and the scholar has not changed his religion, altered his belief, and hastened to send his distortion and alteration, and his departure from his religion, to a printing press to be printed and published, the government sends him to the Andaman Islands for perpetual exile. If you were to see that island, you would find it overflowing with the likes of these oppressed ones.

The English state, which holds its Muslim subjects accountable for the thoughts of their hearts and what might stir in their inner thoughts, undoubtedly considers the mere presence of the word "Islam" in a newspaper sufficient reason to prevent it from entering lands where it has a firm foothold, or where it is seeking to establish one. Indeed, it would consider it an enemy of its own to have a person who would dare to publish such a title, even if he were its ally. We announce to it that the ambitions of men are not deterred by such injustices, and we are not incapable of getting this newspaper into every region under the

unjust English authority. That is by the resolves of the men of resolve who have undertaken the establishment of Al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqa. We have learned that some people draw their swords and sharpen their lances to fight their closest friend, meeting his praise with blame, his commendation with slander, and his kindness with ingratitude, and facing his advice with suspicion. We do not think this is done deliberately or out of enticement by his enemy. It is rather due to a doubt that has veiled his sight from perceiving the truth. When time reveals the reality to him, he will return to regret what he did, and it will be a path for him to the truth and a guide to what is right.

Let not the people of truth who run this newspaper be grieved by what the Egyptian government has done in banning Al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqa from entering Egypt. Let them know that the Egyptian government has no hand in this ban. An Eastern government would not allow its honour to ban a newspaper that contains nothing but the defence of the Easterners. Its source is the English government, and its affair is known to every knower of its conditions.

News Section — Chapter 57: The English Conduct in India

I do not intend, by what I write in this short article, to stir the hearts of the Egyptians against the English authority. For I am certain that the Egyptians, whom the land of Egypt has produced, will not submit to the English authority over them. Indeed, they will oppose it with their lives and their wealth. They have enough religious and national zeal to make them do so, even if they were to see from its justice what not even the justice of Anushirwan could reach. They would prefer the authority of their fellow citizens, even if they suffered from it what they would suffer, except for a few whose natures have been corrupted. They are few. The purpose is to reveal what this great state claims of justice, and what it claims for itself of guardianship over the human species.

When a traveller looks upon any part of the vast Indian lands, his sight is fixed and his mind is dazzled by what he sees of the effects of God's care for those lands, and what He has granted them of natural fertility, to the point that even solid rocks split open to reveal huge trees with tall branches and lush foliage, each one shading... a vast area of land. It seems to the observer that the inhabitants of these lands are living in ease of life and abundance of sustenance. He might even think them happier than the dwellers of the green earth. But when he passes beyond the plains and valleys to the cities and villages, his chest constricts and his heart breaks at the sight of their inhabitants. He sees thousands of them passing through the streets and alleys, going and coming, barefoot, naked, their nakedness exposed, their conditions grim, finding not a morsel of food. Each one of them seeks work in the

hard labour that occupies his day and part of his night, to earn from its wages three francs a month, or even two and a half, but it is not available to him. He sees this state of affairs generally, even in the coastal cities, despite the abundance of commercial activities there. He is filled with wonder when he compares the fertility of the soil and the excellence of the plants with the bad state of those who cultivate them, and he judges, without any doubt, that the English government's administration—the protector of humanity—is what has deprived those poor wretches of enjoying what God has given them of His bounty. If a questioner asks about the state of many of those destitute who own neither a date-stone nor a scrap of a date-stone, it may be said that they were once people of vast fortunes and high rank, inhabiting lofty palaces, and then came to live in hovels, indeed in cages. When the mind turns to seek the cause, it is led to many causes, all of which trace back to the conduct of the English government. The most apparent of them is the abundance of taxes (land revenue) and the weight of the burdens on the shoulders of the people. The government has imposed them on the labourers in their cultivation, without making the payment according to what the land yields each year. Rather, it has estimated (assessed) what each land produces according to its degree of fertility, and determined a fixed amount that it exacts from the cultivator, regardless of agricultural pests, climatic damage, or the government's confiscation of all the produce, indeed more than it. Its payment is compulsory, without any hesitation, in any case.

This is in addition to the various other dues, which have no limit or end, known to them as "taxes"—i.e., irregular or unlimited dues. We may come to explain them, along with other works, in detail later.

In this context, I recall something that may cross the mind: perhaps a rich man in Egypt owns vast estates and large holdings, and he relies on what they produce for his sustenance and that of his children after him. He may become indifferent to the races of the rulers, and not care about the English authority over his country, as long as his wealth is left to him. Here, I will point to a sample of what the English do to his likes in India, so that it may serve as a lesson for him. The English wanted no one else to have a hand in vast property under their authority. So they imposed additional taxes on the landowners, which they pay for their lands at specific times. Then they established in the agricultural law that the owner cannot bring a lawsuit against his tenants for delays in paying what was agreed upon, except after three years have passed from the date of the subject of the lawsuit. If the tenants betray or neglect their work, or monopolise the agricultural produce, the owner cannot sue them in the courts of justice except after that period has passed. However, he must pay what he owes to the government on time, despite his refusal, even if his workers do not pay him anything. In their procedural law, it is established that if three years pass on a subject of a lawsuit without the lawsuit being filed, it is not heard. This leads the agricultural workers to harm the landowners, and the landowners have no way to recover their rights from them. The government does not leave any of its own dues and does not hesitate in demanding its payment. This forces the owner to cede his lands to the English (just) government. These are the actions that anyone who doubts their truth should ask the Indians about. The English newspapers in India constantly call upon their Indian government to alleviate the burdens and to be lenient in the administration. They warn it that if these oppressive actions continue

for even a few years, hardship and distress will intensify throughout India, forcing the people to start a general revolution that the British state would be unable to extinguish. But the deaf do not hear the call.

News Section — Chapter 58: A Lesson in Literature

If you meet an oppressor or encounter a libertine, do not say to him: You are an oppressor or a libertine!

We received this from the virtuous Maulawi 'Abd al-Ghafur Shahbaz, in the city of Calcutta, and this is its text:

“Literature is not, as some people think, a collection of humorous stories or legends told in conversations, or metrical poetry distinguished by good metaphor and delicate simile, with attention to verbal and moral embellishments, such as puns, double entendres, and other rhetorical devices, or compositions and letters containing excessive praise or blame. For all of this, in itself, is not connected to the meaning of literature. Rather, literature in every nation is the art

intended to refine its customs, to refine its sensitivities, and to alert it to its good so that it may embrace it, and to what it fears of evil so that it may avoid it. The true men of literature are the politicians of the morals of nations. Indeed, they are their wings, with which they fly to the summit of their success. For with what they know of the methods of teaching, they can bring near to the minds what is far from their comprehension, and make easy for the minds what is difficult for them to see, and express the same meaning in different ways, so that the common people benefit from it and the elite do not reject it. They take the oppressor to task for his oppression and warn him of the evil consequences of oppression; they denounce the libertine for his debauchery and warn him of the consequences of debauchery, until they bring each of them back from his error in a way that suits his nature, without saying to him: You are an oppressor or a libertine.

When they see in their nation customs that sound taste rejects, or find among them morals and actions that do not conform to the law of virtue and the statutes of the Sharia, they set about changing customs and purifying characters. They take varied paths in their compositions: sometimes through stories and tales that depict the ugliness of vice and the beauty of virtue, and the fate of those stained with the former and the status of those adorned with the latter; and sometimes through metrical poetry, in which they imagine what stirs ambitions, awakens thoughts, and alerts the thoughts of perfection and the feelings of true honour. Not what awakens lust, strengthens vanity, and takes souls out of their proper states. Taking it from its proper face and entering it from its door is what elevated ancient India to the peak of glory, and

what led the Arabs to the furthest limits of elevation, and it is what has led the European nations to what they have reached, which is not hidden from anyone of insight. We are deeply grieved by what we see of the men of literature and poets among the Muslims. They confine their compositions and poems to descriptions of qualities, either blameworthy or praiseworthy, attributed to a person they wish to blame or praise. They limit their narratives to funny stories, humorous tales, and some past histories, without observing the effect of what they write and transmit on the ideas and stages of the nation. Our hope is that they will follow the paths of the men of literature of the advanced nations or those contemporary to them, so that the Islamic nation may have a share in the benefits of their intelligence, their acumen, their eloquence, and their fluency. Let them take in their compositions and poems what is new, with which they can strengthen praiseworthy ambitions, awaken stagnant passions, revive noble qualities, and lead the nation to the source of the nations that came before it. We see the beginning of this new path in our lands, and we ask God for a good end."

News Section — Chapter 59: Political News

Lord Granville stated in the House of Lords that news had been received by the English government about General Gordon. However, he kept it from the House and did not disclose it. Even so, it is ignored by history. It has never been known that a political agent of a great state would correspond with the ministers of his state without a date. Perhaps what the British ministers have become accustomed to of deceiving the Easterners has become a habit among them, even with their own countrymen and in their high assemblies.

News reached the Daily News that all the villages from north of Berber to Marawi have openly revolted, and the road to Berber has been cut off. In another report, it was thought that the governor of Dongola was inclined to rebel against the government. He had been requesting aid for days to help him evacuate the city and save his garrison. Today, he refuses to leave it, and indeed demands that a relief force be sent to him to reopen the Sudanese lands anew. He then exceeded the limits of his position, sending some Bashi-Bozuk officers to Wadi Halfa to bring him some ammunition and war materials. His messengers obtained a thousand rifles, four hundred thousand rounds of ammunition, and plundered government stores, and brought a number of cannons with them to Dongola.

The governor may be blamed for doing such an act, and it may be considered treason against his Egyptian government. But what can he do, after he has learned that the Egyptian government has ceased to be a national government, due to the English intervention in it, and that

its rulers have become owners of nothing in it? If this official is truthful in his service, the benefit of his truthfulness would only be the strengthening of the English foothold in his country and the support of their authority over it. So he would, in reality, be a traitor to his country and a violator of its rights. He is excused if he joins the remembered sedition, as long as the English are rulers in Egypt.

It is said that Muhammad Ahmad marched from al-Ubayyid to capture Dukashiya or Khartoum. It is likely that his march is to capture Khartoum. If what has befallen Berber and Shendi befalls it, with the excitement of the tribes in the northern regions, we expect a terrible outcome, of which we have warned and cautioned many times. If Gordon remains in Khartoum until the Nile flood, if relief does not come to him, he will be forced to ascend the White Nile to the equator, and he can then do great deeds among the African tribes living beyond the equator. He then followed his words with hopes and illusions that are no less than Gordon's hopes when he marched from Cairo to Lado.

A telegram from Aswan to the Daily News stated that the nephew of Hassan Pasha Khalifa, along with another person, were near Berber and were heading north, when they were arrested by the Ruwatab Arabs near... It is said that the Egyptian (or English) government is striving with all its might to form an alliance with the Arab tribes in southern Egypt, to be a support for it in repelling the flood of sedition if its waves rise to the natural borders of Egypt. We do not think its

efforts will succeed among the Arabs, for... the foundations of their dignity are built on... and the path of peace.

Lord Granville refused to grant Nubar Pasha permission to travel to Europe during Sir Baring's absence. If Nubar Pasha insists on requesting permission, Lord Granville will ask the Khedive to replace him with Riyad Pasha or Sharif Pasha. All of this, and the English do not want Egypt to be under their sovereignty, nor do they wish to raise their flag of protection over it. One does not know what the purpose of sovereignty and protection is other than to interfere in the administrations and to control the governors. This is while Lord Granville does not allow Nubar Pasha to travel, and does not permit him, and sees that he has authority over the Khedive to appoint so-and-so as minister! If this is not sovereignty, then what is sovereignty?

A report stated that Admiral Hewett arrived in Adowa (in the Abyssinian lands). We had previously mentioned that it was his intention to tempt the King of Abyssinia to ignite a crusade that would destroy the peoples of the world, to satisfy the desires of the English. But news came after this that the Admiral did not find a receptive spirit among the Abyssinians, and that King John had seen through England's deception and did not show any interest in what the Admiral brought, nor did he send anyone to meet him. Indeed, the Abyssinians showed great roughness in dealing with the English delegation, even refusing to sell them food. Some newspapers have mentioned the text

of the treaty intended to be concluded with the King of Abyssinia, but we are not concerned with mentioning it now.

A group of rebels attacked Suakin on the 19th of this month, advancing towards the city until they were fifty metres from its walls. They then opened fire on it for two hours, and the bullets affected many houses. The garrison army did not move at all to repel this fierce attack. This shows that General Graham's victory on the Red Sea coasts had no effect; it was merely a word to be mentioned and a story to be told. His raids only increased the rebels' boldness.

The Le Temps correspondent in Cairo wrote that there is no truth to what the newspapers have spread about the arrest of Mr. O'Kelly, the Irish MP, whose ambition led him to travel to al-Ubayyid.

News Section — Chapter 60: In Delay is Destruction!

This is what the Egyptian events have led to. They are the key to Eastern disasters and their lock. The great states are awake, with no

sleep, and in motion, with no lethargy. There are continuous negotiations between them before the conference, and successive debates, in which the politicians of every nation strive, some by correspondence and some by face-to-face meetings. The meetings of ambassadors from every state with the foreign ministers of others have multiplied. They whisper and wink at each other, hiding what they declare, and going to what they do not intend. Each one stares at the other, hoping to glimpse in his face what might reveal his hidden thoughts. Each one directs his mind to what the other wants from his words, so that he might not miss something that could be used against him. Most of what their powers are directed to is the representation of desires and the imagining of ambitions, in forms that are furthest from reality and closest to fantasy. They magnify the trivial and belittle the great; they embody the imagined and lose sight of the known; they bring near the distant and distance the near. Each one goes with his companion to gardens of hopes, bright with the flowers of desires, but their blossoms only reveal traps of cunning and snares of deceit. When the sight is pleased and he takes a step, he falls without realising it. One makes the difficult easy, and the other makes the easy difficult. Each one follows the glances of his companion; if he senses a hint of his intention, he shows him colours of imagined benefits to divert him from his aim; and if he senses from him a thought that might lead him to what would harm him, he opens doors of fear to distract him from what he seeks, to confuse his path, and to cut off his thought.

Among them are those who gain friends with the wealth of others, and among them are those who ride the waves of events as if they were...

their opinions are false, like other opinions, and they are heedless of them. The earth has been shaken with its shaking, and the calamities have struck them with their disasters, and the terrors have followed one another upon them, and the storms of terrors have seized them, yet they are in a calmness that makes the observer think they are on a comfortable carpet, at ease. Success from these and those belongs only to the one with the soundest opinion, the firmest resolve, and the keenest insight into his affairs.

The English say: We attacked India long ago and conquered it. We spent a long time in its eastern and western parts, and we took from it... and we obtained from this land... The distances are long and the remoteness is great. So we must be in every place, to preserve our possessions. We have the right to seize most of the world for the sake of India. Especially Egypt, for it has the way that has no equal, and we cannot do without it. We have long aspired to it, and we have been circling around it for a long time, and we have been waiting for the opportunity to seize it. The recent events in Sudan have brought us to its lands and established us in its territories. We went to establish Tawfiq Pasha and to confirm him on the Khedivial throne of Egypt, but he has become like a dummy figure, with no say in the matter, so we have the right to take possession of those lands. The people have understood that our entry into Egypt was to establish peace and to save it from disorder. We told them this when we resolved to do so. But the real purpose was to secure the road to India. We have achieved what we intended by the occupation of our troops in the Nile Valley, so we

have established ourselves in what we have gained, and we have no intention of leaving it after having arrived.

Since we have resolved to remain in Egypt, and we are far from evacuating it, we must guarantee the Egyptian debts, and this is a heavy burden on our shoulders. So all the states must help us and be a support to us in the amendment of the laws. They must not refuse to make their discussions with us exclusively about financial matters, for we are not in need of their other discussions. The decision is ours, and to us belongs the expenditure.

These are statements issued from hopes, whose causes they extend to Berlin, hoping that their connections and centres will be in that city, the capital of Germany. As for Prince Bismarck, who is the director of politics in Europe and in whose hands is its reins, he sees this as an opportunity to be seized, to gain a friend and to harm an enemy. He has no political ties that would force him to defend Egypt. He has a rivalry with England that drives him to oppose it. Indeed, he has a need for them to draw them to him and to distance them from France, so that France may be isolated among the states, without an ally. He may have other purposes from his connection with England, besides cutting France off from its allies, which he may achieve on the day of his need for it, and he is not far from it. So what harm would it do him if he stores up help and harms an enemy, at the expense of another's treasury? Yes, perhaps one might think that Bismarck would be prevented from such a course by his consideration for his allies,

Austria and Italy, who have interests in the Mediterranean. It would be difficult for him to combine, in his policy, the satisfaction of England without harming them, and the preservation of his alliance with them. However, he can get out of this narrow strait by pointing to Tripoli of the West, the Albanian lands, the Balkan lands, and Salonica, and displaying them to the eyes of his allies, thus calming their hearts and reassuring their minds. By this, he would secure the alliance of the two states, clip Russia's claws in Eastern Europe, and destroy France's interests in the Eastern lands in general. All of this is for the sake of Germany and its strength. This is the first act that Bismarck has done or will do. It is the law to which he refers and from which he issues, from the day of the Treaty of Berlin to this time. France is caught between the evasions of the English and the intrigues of Bismarck. It has prior rights in Egypt, the traces of which have almost been erased by the English intervention. It has a great need for a high status on the route of its establishments in China, the Indian Ocean, and Madagascar. For this reason, it strives to expel the English troops from Egypt and to reduce the English authority there. It has support from Russia.

It has such strength that if it were supported by the ideas of the Egyptians, the opinions of their men of resolve, and the inclination of their hearts, it would be able to liberate Egypt and snatch it from the hands of the English, striving to preserve its interests and protect its rights. This is what strengthens the policy of the true state and strengthens its arm in fighting the English and driving them out of its lands.

The Ottoman state must show its resolve at this time, to secure its kingdoms from the greed of the greedy, and to assert its authority over the Egyptian territories, exclusively free from the authority of the aggressors. All the Muslims are waiting for its skill in this question, and they have strong hope and complete trust in it. Their hope is that it will not let this opportunity pass without them gaining their share of the spoils. The state has no reason to fear if it demands that the English return all its rights. For they are, in relation to it, too weak to declare war on it. We repeat what we have said before: it is impossible for the English to declare war on the Ottoman state, especially at this time, when the Russian state has become adjacent to the Afghan kingdom. The first rumour of this war would ignite the flames of revolution throughout the Indian lands. This is clear to every Englishman. Heedlessness and weakness may broaden the field of greed, and open the door to the Eastern Question, or prepare it for a near readiness. The Egyptians, in their current state, must not rely on anyone who is not of their own people. The weakness that calls for zeal is almost exclusively, by nature, in the sons of the homeland, and it is not to be hoped for from others. So let the wise among the Egyptians hasten to support the Ottoman state and unite with it to liberate their lands, using the ideas of the state whose interests require it to strive for their deliverance and the restoration of its former status, and to achieve what is said: that Egypt is for the Egyptians. In short, ambitions have opened their mouths, thoughts are in intense confusion, and people's opinions are divided. Some say: The conference will not be held, due to the difficulty of agreement between France and England on the basic rules of deliberation in it. Others say: It will be held on the condition that Egypt be placed under the protection of all the states, and that an international control be

established, with the English troops remaining for two years. In any case, the disaster befalls the heedless; evil befalls the negligent; the coward is deprived of his rights; and the worker under another's hand is a loser. So the Egyptians and the Ottoman state must show courage and boldness, and raise the banner of ambition, to preserve their lives and protect their honour. The matter is in God's hands; He does what He wills.

News Section — Chapter 61

This is a translation of what was published: "If a position is found in the government departments that cannot be filled by an Englishman (i.e., one that is not fitting to be in the hands of anyone of the noble race), then it must be assigned to one of the Persians remaining on the religion of Zoroaster (the Magi). If none of them is capable of performing it, then a polytheist (an idolater) is to be appointed to it. If neither of these two types is found, nor any other type of person who can do the work, then let the work be left undone and the position remain vacant. So none of the natives has any share in government positions except what the Magian or the polytheist would find repugnant." This is the sign of English love, and this is the proof of their claim that they are the friends and supporters of the

Muslims—may God not increase the likes of these friends and supporters!

News Section — Chapter 62

Indeed, in that is a lesson for those of insight: how can a foreign force overcome a nation and dominate it, enslaving it and humiliating it to work for its own benefit, despite the differences in nature, customs, and ideas, and the existence of natural resistance, let alone deliberate resistance? The fear that settles in the soul of every individual of the nation, and the thought that he is in danger of his life and wealth if he is defeated by the conquerors, drives him to fight, just as he would defend his house and his family. It is not possible for the invading force to subdue the nation except by annihilating it entirely, or by annihilating the majority so that only the weak and the infirm remain. This is a natural matter and an obvious judgment, whenever the attack is against the nation. Yes, it is easy for a foreign force to take control of a great nation at first, if that nation has a prince or a leader whose heart is united upon it, and whose necks submit to it, because of his position in the hearts of his sons, and the place of his fathers in their souls. The conquering force then only needs to strike terror into his heart. He becomes cowardly and accepts what it dictates, or it sets a

trap of cunning for him and deceives him with promises and hopes, so he submits to what it decrees. When he submits to the foreign force, the nation submits after him.

For this reason, you see the seekers of conquest and the pursuers of dominance, before sending armies and troop commanders, set their sights on the hearts of the princes and the holders of authority in the nation they want to overcome. They either dethrone them through threats and intimidation, or they possess them through deception and the adornment of hopes. Thus, they achieve their goal and take possession of the lands of the nations. This is the path that the English followed with the Timurid Sultan in India. Were it not for the bond of connection that the Indians had with their Timurid Sultan, and the English's first grasp of that bond, it would not have been easy for the British to subdue the Indian nations over long ages.

These Afghan tribes, when their connection to their prince was dissolved, and authority passed to the nation, every clan, indeed every individual, rose to defend himself, after the English troops had settled in their fortresses and strongholds, and had taken control of the base of their kingdom. They attacked the English troops, defeated their forces, and expelled them from their lands. They were sixty thousand of the organised armies, armed with the latest weapons. The English were forced to leave those lands. There is no doubt that it is easy for a person to take control of a single person and a limited number of persons through persuasion and intimidation. It is possible for him to

understand their natures, to enter upon them through the avenues of their desires, and to come to them from the doors of their wishes. But it is difficult, indeed impossible, for him to take control of an entire nation, with its diverse minds and souls in dread of him, except through annihilation and destruction. From this, we find that the great kings do not fear engaging in war with their likes, indeed, with those of greater power than them. But they become afraid when they sense the nation's inclination away from them... The power of the conquering force is something that can be overcome, but the most difficult and greatest obstacle is if the people of the nation shake off their desire for humiliation to others. The princes, just as they are in some stages of the nation effective forces for its growth, elevation, greatness, and strength, so too are they in some stages effective causes for its fall, decline, and dissolution. We fear—and there is no power nor might except with God—that our princes and our leaders may be tools for our dissolution and annihilation. For they have been overcome by luxury, immersion in pleasures, indulgence in desires, with a decline in ambition, cowardice, greed, and avarice in their natures—"To God we belong, and to Him we return."

News Section — Chapter 63: An Attack on Sudan, Crossing the Nile!

From the news agencies, a report has come, summarised as follows... It is not certain that what the people of London say is true... that the armies which the English government has resolved to send to Sudan are intended to rescue Gordon. For Gordon is supported by men of the nationals (Egyptians or Sudanese), of resolve and strength, and they have the power to defend themselves... If he is forced to leave his post, they will not fail to find a way to save him. But the real purpose of sending troops to Sudan is to open it up under the English flag. Although this may take a long time, it is of little danger, and there are no political obstacles in its way, since the Egyptian government has relinquished its authority in those regions. It is easy for the English troops to march to Khartoum by way of the Nile. Even if they take a land route, they will not be far from the riverbanks, so that they can be under the protection of the boats. Boats will accompany them, prepared to navigate the Nile and ascend the cataracts. When the troops and the Nile flotillas reach Khartoum and take control of it, they will establish a military government there, extending its influence to the heart of Sudan. This would be a compensation for the English for what they might lose in Egypt, if the conference forces them to renounce some of what they aspire to there. The République Française said: We mention this report as a kind of evidence of English intentions; otherwise, we consider its content to be among the delusions and fantasies.

As for us, we say: Whoever reflects on the actions of the English and follows their course in opening up the Eastern kingdoms will know the

truth of what the news agency reported. It conforms to the principles of English policy and is based on the foundations upon which they have built their conquests for a long time. It is a principle that the English have become accustomed to, to the point that it has become a necessary characteristic of their nature. All their actions are traced back to it, whether they are aware of it or not. Their kingdom in India was built upon it. When the English first set foot in India, they found the kingdom of Oudh to be one of the vast kingdoms, most of whose inhabitants were of the Shia sect, and it had a great Nawab (ruler) of that sect. They saw fit to exploit him... They entered Egypt and saw a spark... they fanned it until it became a conflagration. After expelling the Egyptian armies as a sign of their anger against them, they gathered them to march them to Sudan under the command of their enemies, the English. They went, certain that they were being led to death, to taste the torment of revenge. Their hearts were broken, their resolves were weak, and their beliefs did not permit them to submit to their foreign leaders. The Sudanese, being Muslims, felt that the leaders of the attack against them were not of their kind, which increased their zeal and boldness. This was the cause of the growth of the Sudanese affair, after men had perished, money had been spent, and the conditions of the Sudanese and Egyptians had worsened. All of this was used by the English as a means to separate Sudan from Egypt, after the ruin of both lands.

When the war was raging between Dost Muhammad Khan, the Amir of Afghanistan, and Ranjit Singh of Punjab, the English feared that the Afghans would dominate Punjab. So they intervened in the peace,

enchanting the hearts of the Afghans with gentle words and sweet promises, until they persuaded them to leave the city of Peshawar and its surroundings to Ranjit Singh. The peace was concluded on this basis, and the Afghans were expelled from the kingdom of Punjab, returning to their own lands. Ten years after the peace treaty, the English advanced into Punjab, conquered it for themselves, and took control of Peshawar. Some Afghan princes said: That peace was a prelude to this conquest. In their determination of the borders, the English were only marking out their own lands, but we were heedless of it.

About a year and a half ago, Lord Dufferin, in a report he wrote in Cairo, indicated that the Egyptian government had no need for Sudan, indeed no benefit in it. The purpose was understood at that time by those who perceived it, but others were heedless of it, deceived by the outward appearance of the words. Then the hint soon became an official declaration, and an obligation upon the Egyptian government to abandon Sudan. The hint, the declaration, the insistence, and the obligation were only to prepare the Sudanese lands for entry under their authority at some time, for some reason which they are not incapable of inventing whenever they wish! This is a course known to anyone who has read a page of English history in the Eastern kingdoms. If the states oppose England's sovereignty over Egypt, it wants to establish an authority for itself in Khartoum, whose rule would extend to all the lands of Sudan. Its troops are now stationed in Suakin, and it will soon connect the two cities by railway. Then the English force will surround Egypt from all sides. It will stand at its

door from the north, in Cyprus; it will surround its borders from west to east, in Sudan; it will control the sources of the Nile and manage its upper reaches; and it will take every path that could lead to the occupation of Egypt. There, the English will watch the movements of the states in Europe. Whenever a glimmer of opportunity shines for them, they will advance; when it darkens, they will stand still. They will advance towards Egypt step by step, without caring whether time is long or short. They consider it theirs in any case, but they fear the opposition of the states at this time. This is the ultimate goal of the English in the Egyptian events, and as the République Française said, it is delusions and fantasies—if the Ottoman state and the men of Egypt are firm in demanding their legal rights and preserving their affairs, and they take a firm resolve to resist the English efforts in their homelands and lands, after it has become clear to them what the English intend. If the Ottoman state is lax, or the Egyptians are heedless, the English will consider it an open road and a trodden path, and will count their ambitions as established facts and settled demands—then their efforts will not succeed, nor will their hopes be true.

News Section — Chapter 64: Sudan and Egypt

The Bosphore Egyptien newspaper, published in Cairo, published news whose source was Tawfiq Pasha himself: that General Gordon warned his English government that if it did not send him an army to rescue him from the distress surrounding him, he would renounce the Christian religion and enter Islam! The Bosphore confirmed the authenticity of this strange news (so the newspaper described it as strange). The strangeness of the news, if it is because it is a threat with something that does not concern the government, we know that the English are terrified of one of them leaving their religion. Although they accuse people of abandoning religion and blame those who cling to it, they are the most fanatical people in it, so there is no room for wonder. If the strangeness is because Gordon, who is one of the most fanatical of his people in his religion, how could he incline to Islam; he is English in nature as he is English in race, changing his outward appearance to any colour and appearing in any guise to achieve his purpose, while preserving what God has imprinted on his heart. So there is no wonder if he said and did it.

It was reported that Muhammad Ahmad asked his supporters besieging Khartoum to bring Gordon to him alive, and not to harm him if he fell into their hands. A telegram from Asyut to the Times reported that a mail boat arrived, carrying three people sent by Zubair Pasha to investigate Gordon's condition, and it immediately went with them to Aswan. Thus is time, the father of wonders. A few years ago, Gordon killed Zubair's children and relatives, ruined his affairs, and expelled him from all his wealth. Today, we see the bitterness of enmity turned into the purity of love, prompting Zubair to show

compassion for Gordon and to send messengers to ask about his health and to inquire about his safety.

News came that the people of Girga (a city in Upper Egypt, the centre of a province south of Asyut) are in a state of intense agitation, resembling a revolution. A man, one of Muhammad Ahmad's followers, came to that city from Cairo, calling the people to adopt his way, and there was among them a large crowd responding to his caller and following his path. This indicates that the Sudanese leader is concerned with spreading his call, is cautious about himself, and is clever in his affairs. He has cast his nets in the provinces of Upper Egypt, preparing for the common people. If this course continues, it will bring upon the Egyptian government what we feared would befall it, and the crisis will intensify. Perhaps his success will be aided by the strong inclination of the people to him, which would be difficult for a non-Islamic government to oppose. As for what was added to the news of the agitation in Girga—that there is enmity between the Muslim and Christian inhabitants—we do not believe it, nor does it conform to reality. Past days have witnessed each of the two groups preserving the other in all the circumstances that have faced Egypt. Muslims and Christians there are in complete harmony in all its regions. The fighting that occurred during the last war was only caused by the mischief of mischief-makers, and no Copt was harmed in it. The reliable news confirms what we say. The Egyptian government sent the Seventh Infantry Regiment to Aswan, with a number of mountain cannons and a large number of camels. A telegram from Suakin to the Daily Telegraph reported that skirmishes occurred between

Muhammad Ahmad's followers near Suakin. The Times reported that the rebels fired their cannons at that city at two o'clock in the morning of the 28th of May, but no one in the guard was hit, and the attackers retreated quickly.

Uthman Digna, with a thousand of his men, is encamped near Tamanieb, and most of his force is stationed in that town. It is said that his soldiers' spirits are troubled by the scarcity of provisions—which is news of the enemy that may be heard and may not be believed. Admiral Hewett, sent by England to deceive King John of Abyssinia, did not find acceptance with the king. The English men wanted to lighten the hearts of their terrified people regarding the horrors of Sudan and what they feared of its disasters, so they spread the rumour of the appearance of a person claiming the Mahdiyya in Darfur, saying that Muhammad Ahmad is only a disciple of his from his old disciples. The English were pleased at the prospect of dividing the word of the Sudanese, just as they are pleased at the discord among all Muslims.

News Section — Chapter 65: A Vile Calumny Against Islam

A telegram was received by the Daily Telegraph from Cairo on May 1, 1885, stating that Zubair Pasha was summoned to the palace of Tawfiq Pasha, on the instruction of the English government, and Mr. Egerton asked him to find a way to send a delegate to Gordon Pasha, ordering him to return immediately. Following Tawfiq Pasha's order, Zubair sent one of his servants to perform this task. This was an opportunity seized by the French government to recall its consul in Khartoum. Zubair guaranteed the delegate's arrival and his return with a reply within fifty days. If this is true, it indicates that Gordon is not supported by men of courage and strength, as stated in the telegrams, and that the English were unable to rescue him by military force, even if they may have intended the war for another purpose. The European newspapers reported what is astonishing about Zubair Pasha's naivety: that he sent three of his sons to the leaders of the rebels, each with a letter to them. Its content is as follows—we translate it from those newspapers without altering its wording:

"Thanks to the Khedive, to the State of Great Britain, and to General Gordon. All our properties that were taken from us will be returned to us. O my loved ones and O people of my country, I send to you my three sons, accompanied by a letter to General Gordon. Let them reach him and make their paths easy. I swear to you by the Prophet and by the names of my ancestors, who honoured prisoners, that you should accompany Gordon to Korosko and help him until he ascends the surface of the Nile. Any treatment that harms the General will break my heart forever. I and my family are here as hostages until General

Gordon returns. If he returns safe and sound, Muhammad will protect you forever."

We disavow what is in this letter and its attribution to Zubair Pasha. We know the man to be a Muslim, learned in his religion, and knowledgeable in its obligations. He is of the lineage of Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet. In his soul, there are bitter feelings from what General Gordon did to him when he was the governor-general of Sudan. No one knows Gordon's history and enumerates his misdeeds like Zubair Pasha. We knew this from him, and he sighed with anguish at the memory of his calamities when we were in Egypt. So how could he praise the English and thank them? How could he do something that would benefit them, deceived by what he was promised of the return of his properties, while he knows that everything that benefits them only establishes their feet more firmly in his homeland? Whoever notices the style of the letter will see that it is not an Arabic style, especially the concluding supplication, for it is not known in the expressions of Muslims that "Muhammad" protects anyone—rather, God is the Preserver of all things. It is not unlikely that an enemy of Zubair wanted to defame him and accused him of this, or that the letter is an invention of some European newspapers to hint at something!

News Section — Chapter 66: A Struggle for the Establishment of the Occupation!

A telegram came from Berlin to the Gazette de Cologne stating: It is confirmed that it is the intention of the states of France and England to agree before the conference is held on the subject of the discussion, just as the states of Russia and England agreed on the framework of the Berlin Conference before it was held, through Lord Salisbury and Count Shuvalov. Each of the two negotiating states extends its view to what the deliberations of the conference might lead to, and determines and estimates it (then enters it with the intention that the goal is what it has determined). Perhaps the invitation to the conference may have replaced acceptance for some states. However, the consent of the Sublime Porte is a condition for accepting its judgment and submitting to its decision. Even if the states of Austria and Germany, or all states, decreed that one of its basic rules be the response of all states invited to it, this would not be a decisive ruling obliging acceptance of what it concludes. This is the nature of the conference in relation to the Sublime Porte, in any case.

The Times said: The English ministry has succeeded in overcoming the House of Commons, but it cannot rely on this easy victory. It must use the Whitsun recess to escape with what it gains from the great danger that may surround it from the ongoing negotiations between it and the French ministry. The ministry was lenient in concluding a

treaty that harmed our interests with the company of... the concession was granted and the company now has a base on barren land. It is not easy for it to take the path today that it took at that time. If Parliament rejects what the negotiations on the Egyptian question have concluded, the ministry cannot remain in its position. If it is impossible to reach a sound conclusion from these negotiations, the ministry can withdraw from office. As for France and the other states, they have no right to demand from the English House of Commons a grant that the souls of the people of Britain have been stingy with, and the general opinion in the land of England has refused to allow.

News Section — Chapter 67

A force of rebels attacked the city of Berber and captured it after destroying its entire garrison. There is no room for doubt about the rebels' control over that city. After they established themselves there, thirty thousand of them advanced to attack Dongola. A telegram from Korosko to the Times dated June 11 stated that Muhammad Ahmad himself was advancing with thirty-five thousand men to capture Dongola, hoping to succeed before Ramadan began. He sent a letter to its governor, naming him as its prince, with the authority of the sultanate there and its residents. The road between Dongola and Wadi

Halfa has been cut off and its passage is impossible. The Egyptian government has despaired of defending that city and has issued orders to prepare a way for its garrison to return to Egypt. The English government, feeling the intractability of the sedition, has worked to send relief to reinforce the Khartoum garrison, as confirmed by the Morning Post, out of despair of success. Uthman Digna's strength is growing day by day, and every night he attacks Suakin and even some ships. The news of what has befallen Berber, the expected fall of Dongola, and the rebels' raids on government camps in Wadi Halfa, have all caused great disturbance in Aswan and intense agitation in the thoughts of all the people of Upper Egypt. These are the plunderings of the English, and their failures in their attempts... they do not tire of attacking what they have set their sights on. A telegram to the Havas Agency stated that the entire Egyptian army has entered under the command of Mr. General Stephenson (the commander of the English occupation army). The General became like the Minister of War, and the national army became English, and the occupation army became the Egyptian garrison. Then they are trying to oblige Tawfiq Pasha to appoint three English inspectors: one in Cairo, the second in Lower Egypt (Inspector of the Northern Region), and the third in Upper Egypt (Inspector of the Southern Region), on the condition that they cannot be dismissed except by order of England. Thus, the administration would become purely English, with nothing left for the rulers of Egypt but the state of the humiliated—obedience and submission.

They have acted in the Egyptian Ottoman lands as owners, granting from them tracts of land and a grant on the sea to the King of Abyssinia. They have allied with him to lead an army to fight the Muslims in their lands, hoping to subdue them and suppress their spirits. While rushing to their ambitions, they raise dust in the eyes of the states, make a clamour, and shout that their only goal is to establish peace and restore order. They establish the proof of their sincerity by their desire to get the states to help them solve some financial problems, while they do not want the conference except to gain from it what would further establish their feet in Egypt. They know that France has an interest in opposing them, so they began to threaten it with an alliance with Germany or rapprochement with it, if it does not show leniency with them. They want to force it, through threats, to agree to keep their troops in Egypt until the year 1888, under the name of establishing peace, on the condition that after that period, their stay can only be extended by the unanimous agreement of all the states that have representatives in the conference. Thus, if one of them agrees to extend the period later, that would be enough to prolong or suspend the term. Their intention in this condition is not hidden.

They know that in the divergence of states' interests and the clash of policies, they will not fail to find a way to satisfy one state at some time, by agreeing to extend the term. We do not think that France's vision would stop short of this thin veil, which is... from its possessions in the East. We do not think it will agree to accept this condition, even if it fails... its interests demand its survival, and its survival is only through its opposition to England. So it is as if it is a free state... they are trying, under the pretext of the wealth of Egyptian finance, to dominate Egypt in this conference, and its failure is

through its treason in it. They used this to bring about a change in the government's structure. Then they forced 'Urabi to rebel, to use that as a pretext to advance to support the ruler, and then they expanded the circle of disorder, to make it a means to an unlimited authority, which they hope to achieve in this conference. They adorned for the Ottoman state the idea of attacking Sudan while their troops were in Egypt, and then leaving after they had paved the way for them in Egypt and Sudan together.

When it was not deceived by them—and it was right not to be satisfied—they threatened it, saying that they would not allow a Turkish soldier to go to Sudan after this, and that if the Ottoman state did not accept its representative's presence in the conference on the basis that it was confined to financial matters, the conference would be held without its consent.

If the English were truthful in their desire to establish peace in Egypt, they would entrust it to the Ottoman troops and hand over the matter to a resolute, skilful man from among the Egyptian princes. For in that would be the extinguishing of the seditions and the establishment of peace, and there is no fear from the state regarding Egyptian independence, for it is not in its nature to break a treaty with one state at this time, let alone treaties with all states. But let not the state be intimidated by this threat. Muhammad Ahmad's call has reached the Indians and become deeply embedded. The news of the Russians' approach to them has filled their ears. The English expect sedition among them at any moment. English power is incapable of fighting Muhammad Ahmad. If the Ottoman state stands firm, the English will

be forced to yield to the force of events, despite themselves. They are afraid that it will be rumoured that they are opposed to the Ottoman state. So firmness, firmness, and God is the Helper.

News Section — Chapter 68: The Brahmin of Lahore

It has become clear to the Pandit of Lahore (the owner of the newspaper Akhbar-i 'Am) that what we warned of, when Russia entered Merv, about the imminent entry into Sarakhs was not something that might or might not happen. Russia has indeed entered the city of Sarakhs with the consent of the Turkmens, as we mentioned in the previous issue. He cannot doubt the march of the northern giant to shake the walls of the government he claims to defend. For soon he will be overshadowed by the sweep of the advance in the land of Punjab, beneath its walls. And he, having seen what he has seen of the truth of what we say, should add to his certainty what we establish later. We speak of the natures of nations and the realities and requirements of politics, and his doubt does not alter the truth.

News Section — Chapter 69

We met with some virtuous editors from Egypt who came to Europe to observe the conference in London, to understand the details of the negotiations related to the Egyptian question, and to publish them, along with what their sound minds produce of correct opinion, in their newspapers, to enlighten minds and awaken thoughts. We praised their efforts, thanked their work, and greatly admired their ambition in serving the Egyptian lands, fulfilling what the Eastern community has imposed on them, and what the duty of neighbourliness requires of them—even if they were not among those who grew up in the soil of Egypt or were formed from its clay. But we are deeply grieved that they undertook this great work without supporters, without helpers from among the Egyptians, and without assistants from among the people of the country. Those are the ones who have been overwhelmed by hardships and faced with the shocks of calamities from every side. They have a clear connection to the country, and they have inherited what they live in from their fathers and grandfathers for long generations. Among them are those who know foreign languages, and some of them have obtained the honour of knowledge at the expense of their country. The country used to prepare them for such tasks.
Is there not among them a youth whose blood boils and whose innards stir for what has befallen his homeland and the sons of his country, which grieves the entire world? Or if not this, is there not a young man of great ambition and strong resolve, who seeks a high remembrance

and lasting praise, so that his ambition stirs him to complain of his misfortune and the misfortune of his brothers, or to guide them to deliverance and the means of salvation? Is there not among them an elder who has had his fill of the world, and upon whom the country has poured its goodness, who remembers the blessings of his homeland, and rises to give thanks for them as much as he can serve it? Is there not among these and those rich men who fear no impoverishment, who would spend some of the surplus of their wealth on themselves, in seeking justice from the states that are concerned with their affairs? Is there not among them one who inherited vast wealth from his fathers and squanders it on what brings him no lasting glory nor enduring honour, so that he might make spending on himself in travelling for this praiseworthy purpose part of his extravagance? How astonishing! What is this languor? Why this turning away from what has afflicted their homelands?

How can this be, while the tongues of the press are directed to their ears, and the needles of the press are in the blood of their hearts, stirring in them zeal and the desire to act? How can this be, while we know among them the wealthy and the affluent, whose wealth would not be exhausted except by the hands of their foreign enemies, if they continue in their stinginess and greed? How can this be, while among them are the generous, who have exceeded in spending to the point of extravagance and waste on what brings them only flattery to their faces and a status that exists only in the imagination? Fear and cowardice! How can this be, when it has become clear to them that the danger in silence is greater than the danger in crying out and shouting? Comfort is lost, order is disturbed, rights are wasted, seditions surround them, and foreigners have placed their daggers on their throats. If they do not save themselves by striving to reveal these

afflictions, they will have no place except their homes. Indeed, all danger lies in neglecting the interest of the homeland. The one who strives for the good of his homeland and his creed is not in danger if he enters through its doors and seeks the goal by its means. So of what are they afraid, and what authority do they fear?
If the wound of the homeland has no effect on their hearts, where is the natural feeling implanted in human souls, which drives competition and emulation? "To God we belong, and to Him we return."

News Section — Chapter 70: English Justice!

Reliance on justice and repose in security and comfort are among the natural things in man. This is a truth that the noble English race has grasped. For this reason, you see it traversing the regions and wandering through the cities, carrying on one shoulder the banner of justice and on the other the banner of security and comfort, hoping to capture the desires of the entire world and to gain honour in all parts of the inhabited earth. But the truth is that the people of the lands flee from these banners, and are terrified of seeking shade under them. And whoever rests under them for a day, flees from them the next, even if he were to be scorched by the flames of Hell. These are the

Irish, of English race and religion, speaking their language. There is no difference between them and the inhabitants of Great Britain except in what is not considered a real difference—the doctrines of the Catholic and Protestant faiths. It can be said that it is a difference in the branches of religion, not in its fundamentals. Ireland is considered an integral part of the British kingdom, and its inhabitants are considered an element within the fabric of the nation. The wing of English mercy has been spread over them for long generations, until everyone considered them one nation. Yet you see thousands of Irish abandoning their homelands and emigrating to America, making it their home, fleeing from English justice. Every day, you see those burning with the fire of zeal among them risking their lives in acts intended to destroy the English authority and to kill those who uphold it. Every day, they dig trenches and bury inflammable materials (dynamite) in various places, in government centres, in the paths of the general public, and on railway bridges, to destroy every place and those it carries. This has increased to the point of frightening the government in recent days. No period passes without you hearing of clashes between the English police and the Irish, including what happened on the 8th of this month (June) of a battle between soldiers and civilians, in which many were wounded.

Is the emigration of the Irish, their rushing to death, and their weariness of life in opposing the English authority, due to their aversion to justice and their hatred of comfort, while the inclination to them is natural in human nature? I think if it were true justice, known to the sons of Adam, human nature would not have turned away from

it, nor would souls have preferred death to enjoying it, nor would peoples who share with the rulers in race, language, and religion have sought deliverance from it, nor would they have preferred to it the emigration of homelands and the endurance of the pains of exile and the hardships of wandering in lands where they find only the bare necessities of life. But it is a justice unique to the English among the speaking animals. Among its rulings is that a tax is imposed on Catholic churches to be paid to Protestant churches, by hand and in humiliation. And from its obligations is that the noble English princes do not leave for the Irish any of the necessities of life except what keeps them occupied in developing their wealth and increasing their pleasure. If this justice does not suit the tastes of those who agree with them in the aforementioned qualities, then how can it be expected to suit the tastes of those who have no relationship with them, no bond uniting them, neither in language, nor race, nor religion?

This delightful kind of justice has shown its effects in the Indian lands. The English entered them when they were the richest land in the world, the most fertile soil in the inhabited earth, and its inhabitants the most prosperous people, the wealthiest. Today, by the blessing of English justice, it is as if it were barren plains and desolate wastelands. Its inhabitants are barefoot, naked, and humiliated, content with a harsh life and with cattle fodder. They find nothing with which to be satisfied. After their properties were plundered, their wealth seized, and the English monopolised all that was theirs, they seek a living in the meanest trades, but they do not find what they seek. Among them is the eloquent writer and the skilled accountant, who traverses the

land from country to country and from province to province, seeking a service from which he might earn thirty francs a month, but luck does not favour him with it! Two years ago, they entered Egypt, the land of peace and security, whose inhabitants lived in comfort and safety from calamities. Today, by the blessing of English justice and the excellence of British administration, it is the land of sedition, the fields of war, and the place of disorder and corruption. Justice has decreed the dismissal of thousands of nationals from their government jobs, who have families and dependents with no livelihood except the salaries of national service. Their places have been filled by a mixture of Englishmen. The markets of trade have stagnated, the hands of the farmers have been tied from working in agriculture due to the loss of security and general disorder, the land has refused to produce due to the neglect of public works, and poverty has overtaken the peasants, to the point that they are unable to pay their debts and their hands are short of paying what they owe to their government.

Yet, with all this, you see the English have no doubt that they are just and upright. Their settlement in any region and their authority over any people are synonymous with happiness, prosperity, security, and comfort. They are utterly amazed at the Egyptians' aversion to them and the repulsion of their hearts from them. They say: Glory be to God! How can there be, among public or secret associations, those who conspire against some of them and unite in enmity to them? How can it cross the mind of an Egyptian to resent the English? When they sensed the movement of thoughts and the blaze of zeal in the souls of some Egyptians, and feared that they might take the step of speaking

the truth—"This is our land, we know our interests better than others, and we do not want to be a prey to the English"—they wanted to establish a banner over their justice and to accustom souls to being content with their rule, and to erase every grudge from the hearts of the Egyptians, by military force, as if by unleashing swords and drawing daggers, they could plant love in hearts. And this is a new method of removing enmities and erasing grudges! A telegram from the Times correspondent in Cairo reported that the English troops have spread in the streets of Cairo, heavily armed, to demonstrate the strength that preserves security.

The reason for this is that the English security officials are convinced that there are, in that city, public or secret associations, or that there are Egyptian persons who love their country and do not wish the authority in their government to be for a foreigner, especially if he is unjust to them. Or that there is in that city someone who might think of saying what the lowest Englishman says: that the interest of our homeland is above every other interest. Or that there is someone who tells himself that the English have no good in their rule, and he sees the misery of his country in their bad administration. This aroused the wrath of the English officials and prompted them to be strict in seeking out the hidden places of those who do not incline to them, so that they might punish everyone with a conscience for what has stirred in his heart of criticism of their actions.

They have resolved to use lighting devices to illuminate the night in all the streets and alleys of the city, from the Citadel to the narrowest lane, to verify what they thought and to reveal what they expected (and in this action, they are considering the interests of the Egyptians and pitying their condition, for they have denied the blessing of order and have not acknowledged to the English this kindness they have

bestowed upon them for the past two years, and they pity them). They consider it justice that the hearts of the Egyptians should drink in their affection by force of arms, until their sins become good deeds. Perhaps they will not achieve what they intend.

News Section — Chapter 71: England and France

The ears of those wishing to know the outcome of the Egyptian events were attentive to hearing what was being discussed among the European governments, from the day England invited all the great states to meet in a conference to consider some Egyptian matters. But it was veiled behind a curtain of secrecy. Only a murmur, a clamour, a muttering, or a whisper would reach them. Every sound that reached them stirred the stagnant delusions, and they stirred up strange images and forms. The broadcasters, the newspaper owners in Europe—who are more like conjurors and comedians—would go from talk to varied opinions, competing in representation and depiction, to deceive and terrify. They would depict the earth in the form of the sky, and the sky in the form of the earth, especially regarding the negotiations between the French and English ministries. The reader of their newspapers would imagine that the seas were teeming with ships, and the ironclads were colliding with each other, and that the land was

bristling with armies, leaving no path for the traveller between them. The imagination took hold of those with sharp minds; some of them were war engineers, specifying the positions of troops, the paths of combat, and the hosts of the combatants, moving in their minds right and left, and surging against each other, as if their imaginations were an exhibition for the armies of the world, as if in every group there was a caller, and in every tribe a herald saying: "This is my right!" Thus, clamours rose, groans ascended, and froth and foam appeared, with frowning faces and scowling looks, and in all of that, a terror that seized the minds.

Those who knew the land and naval power of France, and who valued its rights at their true worth, believed that the statue of British greatness had become bent, with its head bowed to its knee, hiding from people in shame at its apparent weakness and incapacity, and that the English government would return in failure (even if it prepared hosts of threats and armies of despicable people). These delusions were strengthened by what the newspaper owners proclaimed. The desire to know the truth grew, and the messengers of thought went back and forth through the various stages, trying to reach something of these secrets. Souls were gathered in the ears, eager to hear about those deliberations, and each one lay in wait, spying, to try to discern from behind the veil what might reveal the truth. But behold, the English lady was sitting in the temple of Ammon, holding in her hand a crown that resembled a bull's head (the crown of the Pharaohs), preparing to place it on her head, and the great kings were standing before her, ready to congratulate her, as if these negotiations and

communications were only a preparation and a furnishing for seating her on the throne of Menes I and Ramses I—there is no power nor might except with God.

The French Prime Minister stood up in the House of Representatives to explain the agreement he had concluded with the English government, so that the representatives might see their opinion. Before mentioning it, he expended all his eloquence, rhetoric, and good expression to persuade them to accept what he had done. He was gentle in his speech, and he excelled, correcting and ascending, presenting a desire that was mixed with intimidation, and a hope that was surrounded by fear. He inserted in his speech that France, before this new treaty, was not on anything, and by it she obtained many things. He hinted that if his ministry had asked for more than what it had obtained, it would have led to the opposition of the English government, and the disagreement would have led to its downfall, and perhaps it would be succeeded by a ministry that aspired to seize Egypt. He said in his statement what moved the natures and inclined the ears: "A politician, before concluding a judgment, must observe all its aspects and consequences." This noble word renewed hopes in the listeners, and they thought that the French... had come, or that a French force would be stationed in the Suez Canal, or that the judgment would be concluded with the departure of the English from Egypt. In short, they had won a great victory.

After long introductions, he presented the agreement, and it turned out, after careful consideration, to be as follows: The English are the masters of Egypt; they do in it as they wish, and we have no right to oppose them. Neither the joint control has returned, nor has the participation in military intervention or administrative supervision been achieved, nor has the freedom of fighting been established on a fixed principle, nor has the evacuation of the English been confirmed in a definitive form, nor has an international control been established, as some politicians had imagined. Indeed, it was as the English themselves resorted to at the end of their inability, as many of their politicians had pointed out. The chests of the representatives were constricted. When he saw their intense emotion and felt their despair, he tried to revive their hopes by saying: "We have followed in this agreement the path of the other states. Among the established traditions in them is that each of the seekers of agreement gives up something of what is disagreed upon, until they come close and become balanced, so that their agreement becomes easier." He implied by this that although he had left every right for France in Egypt, the English had also shown leniency with him in...

This leniency, which was not expected from the French government, led to speculations beyond the obvious, including what prompted the correspondent of the German Tagblatt in Vienna to say: "It is thought here (in Vienna) that the states will oppose this agreement, despite all the delusions." It is not far-fetched that the clamour, threats, and intimidation of the English against the French ministry, by inclining towards Germany, were what prompted this strange leniency, indeed, drove it to abandon the right entirely. Or perhaps the Prime Minister thought that his insistence on demanding his right, or the right of those with a valid relationship to him, would bring about a change in

Gladstone's ministry, and that it would be succeeded by one that would act by force and violate every right. Thus, the French rights would be lost without any gratitude from France for their loss. So he hastened to agree to what it wanted, and cast France's interest in Egypt before it, so that the gratitude would be for the English seizure of Egypt. But we think that this kind of treatment does not benefit France more than it brings her harm. The leniency and bad policy of the French government with Britain in India, when the two nations had a rivalry there, led to the English domination of all the Indian kingdoms. The French returned empty-handed, and the effect of that loss has not been erased from the thoughts of the French nation to this day. The future is more like the past than water is to water. It may be said that the government of... has diverted its attention from... to another direction. Our hope is in the representatives of the French nation; although they expressed their confidence in the ministry after long debates, they stipulated that it should not conclude any judgment in the conference without their consultation—may God fulfil this hope. We are amazed at the eagerness of the English Parliament in opposing Gladstone in this agreement, while its greatest benefit is the seizure of Egypt. Parliament has demanded of Gladstone what the French representatives demanded of their minister. As for the rights of the Ottomans and the Egyptians, we have not seen any mention of them among the agreeing parties, except that their owners must demand them, and at that time we will see a chapter for them between these doors.

News Section — Chapter 72: The Agreement

A treaty between the French and English ministries, agreed upon by them, to be the subject of discussion in the conference. We have pointed out that its purpose is France's renunciation of all its rights in Egypt, its washing of its hands of every interest there, and its recognition of England's sovereignty over it, even if the words of sovereignty are not mentioned. This is what it contains in its articles:

First: The English army's occupation of the Egyptian lands shall continue until the first of January, 1888 (three and a half years). Then it shall not evacuate them except after the convening of a new conference of representatives of the great states, in which they agree that the evacuation will not harm the internal order of Egypt nor the political relations between the states. If disagreement occurs, and a single state deems it necessary to extend the period, the choice of evacuation or remaining belongs solely to England.

England is the state that fired its cannons on the city of Alexandria, and the conference was held to... to correct its mistakes... and it did not respect the sanctity of the state, nor did it agree with any of them on the action it undertook. So will it be unable to...? During this long

period, it can win over one state to its side, so that when the conference is held after three and a half years, it can argue that the evacuation of Egypt would be feared for the order of the country or the peace of Europe, thus providing a justification for England to extend the period, even if the other states oppose it. The wording of the condition supports its argument. How can the rest of the states, if one of them opposes, force Britain to leave, when this condition has been set, and it has written on itself that evacuation is not obligatory unless all states agree on it? The policies in Europe are rapidly changing; changes do not stop at a limit... it is possible—indeed, every near possibility—that a state among the states will support England's claim that its evacuation of Egypt would cause a shock to the peace of Europe. Perhaps that state would be the powerful one that it is difficult for the other states to oppose, and France would find no refuge then except to submit and acquiesce.

If we assume that England is unable to win over a European state to agree with it in its deception regarding the conditions of Egypt, and that European politics has stopped at its current state, and that all states have allied on speaking the truth, then can Britain, being what it is, fail to stir up trouble in some Egyptian region by inciting a Maltese against a Copt, or a Roman against a fellah, or a donkey, so that blood flows... and it is claimed that the country's security is in danger, and it has the right to preserve it until Egypt becomes a paradise in which the nations of the world are brothers on couches facing each other? If Monsieur Jules Ferry had considered the treaties that England concluded with the Timurid Sultanate and other Indian kingdoms, and

how that state violated them without regard for any covenant or trust, it would have become clear to him that Russia's violation of its treaty with Poland is nothing compared to England's preservation of its covenants with those great kingdoms. If this minister had reflected on English actions, he would have blamed himself for pleading England's honour for its purpose and its sincerity in what it had pledged.

If there were no secret in the conclusion of the condition, why did the English ministry care so much and insist on it? If it had no purpose in using it when the time came, why did it issue orders to extend the railway from Suakin to Berber at the expense of the British government?

If Monsieur Jules Ferry trusts Mr. Gladstone and relies on his modesty and the purity of his record, then who can guarantee for him the sincerity of his colleagues in the ministry to the end of their term? If Gladstone's ministry resigns due to an internal or external crisis, and is succeeded by a ministry under the leadership of Lord Churchill or Lord Salisbury, both of whom are among those demanding the seizure of Egypt or the declaration of English sovereignty over it, what would prevent them from benefiting from this evil conclusion?

The material: The establishment of an international commission for the public debt, which is granted the right to inspect government expenditures and to object to any increase beyond what was approved

in the estimate. This commission is restricted by what the English government determines and presents to the international conference to approve its content, so that it becomes a law for expenditure that cannot be violated except in cases of emergency. By the year 1888, the Debt Fund is authorised to assist the Egyptian government in preparing its annual budget, meaning that it is presented to it before its approval, so that it can express its opinion on it. However, its opinion in all cases is merely advisory, neither binding nor decisive. When the troops evacuate Egypt, it will have the right to supervise the collection of all revenues and to regulate them on sound foundations and regular methods. By this, it acquires the rights of the joint control, except for attendance at the Council of Ministers. The President of the Commission in all cases is to be English. If the supervision of the Debt Fund over the collection of revenues is not to be exercised except after the evacuation of the English army, would this not be a hope that might be achieved, and it would be a true substitute for the control, and it is only a figment of the imagination, with a long time between it and its realisation? If the French nation agrees to reduce the interest on the debt for this illusory hope, then it has lost, as was said...

The third article: The protection of Egypt and its neutrality (what is expressed as "neutralisation"), by making it a government in Africa on the principles of the Belgian government in Europe, and the liberation of the Canal, i.e., making it a passage for all ships of all states, of any kind. If the two states are at war, a period is set for its stay there, during which no troops or ammunition may be landed on its banks, nor may skirmishes take place in it, nor near it, nor above any part of

the Egyptian waters, even if the Ottoman state is one of the warring parties. However, none of these restrictions prevents taking precautionary measures for the defence of Egypt itself, if circumstances require it. If the ships of a state cause damage to the Canal, it is obliged to compensate for it. It is said that the Egyptian government... will benefit from the provisions of the... of war, and no fortifications may be built on the banks of the Canal or near it. All these conditions are approved and will be implemented after the evacuation of the English troops from the Nile Valley. The opening of this chapter indicates that if the English fall short in their efforts to take possession of the Egyptian lands, they have prepared claws to snatch them from the hands of the Muslims and to turn them over to other peoples, as we have pointed out elsewhere.

This, which is stated regarding the formation of the government in Egypt on the model of the Belgian government, is the great matter that Monsieur Jules Ferry emphasised, saying that it is one of the best and noblest political judgments. Sound reason doubts that it is a political judgment, let alone a noble one, given what is noted in it of the consequences of rivalry and enmity among the European nations for generations, after it has been established among them that the Easterner is not fit to govern himself! If this were to happen, perhaps it might be seen as good for France or for Europe—meaning that it would be better if the Egyptian or the Muslim were to...? So his place of honour and nobility would be...? We are amazed at this appearance in the policy of Monsieur Jules Ferry, except for the Ottoman state and its firmness in preserving its political position, and the eagerness of

the French House of Representatives to protect French interests, which can easily be safeguarded with a little determination and a spark of insight. And to God belongs the command; He does what He wills.

News Section — Chapter 73: The Sublime Porte

The Daily News reported news that pleases every Muslim who cares about the success of the Ottoman state and sees his honour in its honour. That is that the Sublime Porte refuses to see an English army occupying Egypt, and wishes, if the rebellion intensifies, to entrust the matter to the Khedive, who follows the advice of the Supreme State, which has the legal authority over him. Every condition that tends to place Egypt under English protection is unacceptable to the Sublime Porte in its current state. It rejects the English occupation and English protection, and it will not accept the Anglo-French agreement regarding these two matters (the English occupation and English protection). A letter was received from the correspondent of the French newspaper Nouvelle Presse Libre from a discussion that took place between him and a Russian politician, quoted by Le Temps, in which it was stated that the Russian state will resist Britain's ambitions and support the Ottoman state in its demands, in order to protect its interests, which are linked to the interests of the Ottomans in the

Egyptian question and in the agreement concluded between the states of France and England.

News Section — Chapter 74: The English and Islam

The English government is a bitter enemy of the Muslims, seeking to devour the Islamic kingdoms. It advances towards its goals from them, following its well-known path of gentleness, evasion, deception, and cunning. If its efforts reach a certain point of its goal, then that is it. If it fails, it takes another path to snatch a piece of the Muslims' lands by any means, and it... as if it had the pleasure of... harming the people of the faith, as if it sought happiness in humiliating them and erasing what remains of their kingdom. Its joy is complete when it sees them humiliated, slaves, owning nothing of their own affairs! In Gladstone's writings and his abundant speeches during the Ottoman-Russian war, and the articles of his like, there is news—indeed, the truest of news—of what the English hearts harbour of enmity towards the Muslims. This government has the ambition to establish itself in Egypt. It has a grip on every mountain and a step on every path, to achieve its ambition. Its ambition today is to satisfy some states regarding its tyranny over Egypt, by what it suggests to its politicians of the illusions of benefits and the fantasies of advantages, and to

discourage some of them by evasions and threats. If its ambition achieves its purpose, that is the best it seeks.

Otherwise, it will resolve to transfer the authority in Egypt from the hands of the Egyptians and the Ottomans to the hands of other peoples. This is what the (English) ministerial newspaper Daily News points to, when speaking about the Suez Canal, saying: "The neutrality of the Canal can be settled on the basis contained in Lord Granville's telegram to the states on... 1885, and this is not the only thing, but rather a judgment among the provisions of the system that the English ministry has established, to be a foundation upon which the Egyptian government's structure is to be based after the troops evacuate it." But the English do not see in the neutrality of the Canal alone a sound guarantee for protecting Egypt from the attack of a foreign state upon it, nor a sufficient guarantee for its independence. Indeed, opinion may go to the necessity of the neutrality of Egypt itself, by turning its government into a Swiss or Belgian government in Africa, and placing it under the protection of all the states, so that it may be secure from attack by any of them. If matters come to this—God forbid—would the holders of protection or sovereignty permit the entrusting of the affairs of administration, justice, and finance to the Egyptians, who are knowledgeable about their country's affairs?

How can we think this, when the English have registered against them that they are too weak to undertake any action, partial or complete, in serving their homelands, and that for their very survival, it is necessary that they be a mute tool in the hands of others, the Europeans?

This may be followed—if it happens—by the formation of numerous councils in Egypt, all resembling the Mixed Courts[29]. As for the councils of judgment and justice—primary and appellate—the matter is clear. As for the administration of the interior and finance and their branches, no state is independent in them. The nature of the matter forbids it, so they will not be administered except by councils composed of peoples of different forms, languages, and governments. If the rulers are generous to the Egyptians at the beginning of the work, they might allow one of them to be in each council for a limited time. Those foreign members, who are representatives of their states, will follow the path of their predecessors. Each of them will summon from his own countrymen those whom he employs in some aspect of the work he is entrusted with... and they will help each other, just as they used to help each other in the former times. It will not be long before the land of Egypt becomes narrow for the foreigners, and no place remains for a national. This is in addition to the establishment of a mixed army for the preservation of order in the cities and provinces. Nothing will remain for the Egyptians except the meanest tasks: cultivating the land and performing hard labour, but they will be forced labourers for others, paying the fruits of their earnings to those they do not know. They will lose all that they had attained in recent times, from the era of Muhammad Ali to the present. Not much time will pass before they become like the inhabitants of the Americas, receding to some remote margins away from civilisation, or merging with the foreigners, leaving no trace of themselves. The Egyptian lands will become inhabited by a mixed multitude, as in the lands of North and South America, and that group of strangers will take the place of the true sons of the land. This is something that would not

please a sane person, even if it might appear attractive to some of the "blessed ones."

Our hope is in the Ottoman state to stand on the foundation that the first ancestors established, and to advance with a firm resolve, to restore its former glory, before the English... then to entrust the reins of government to men of resolve from the Egyptians, to preserve the territory of Islam. It is likely that the state of Romania has its rights... it will not differ from France in this. The interests of the two states in their conquests in the Eastern lands are based on the foundation... they are like two allies... united with the Ottomans against the English. Once again, this is the only point of criticism of the Afghan; he still insists in his journalistic struggle on expelling the English and foreigners and replacing them with the symbol of the Ottoman state, because—in his words—it is the holder of the legal right with the Egyptians in governing the country!

News Section — Chapter 75: The Sublime Porte and the English

Muslims in every land are concerned with what is happening in Egypt. Indeed, their souls go with grief whenever they see or hear a foreign soldier roaming its regions, fighting or guarding. The matter of Egypt is not like other lands to them. It is the pulpit of Islam and the gate of the Two Holy Sanctuaries. Every calamity that befalls it harms the religion and breaks its pillars. The Muslims, in their anxiety, look to the Ottoman state and turn their faces towards its sky of temporal and spiritual authority. They hope from it a firm resolve that will save the Egyptian lands from the occupation of enemies, preserve the honour of Muslims and their status among nations, and protect the Islamic state from falling into the snares of this cunning state—the English state—which has taken it upon itself to destroy the authority of this religion and to turn its rope upside down. This is in addition to what every Muslim sees: that the honour and might of the Ottoman state are only in the safety of its authority over Egypt. If the matter is decided for others—God forbid—the rights of the Ottomans in all their kingdoms will become vulnerable to danger.

The English state is like a disease of the flesh; its effect appears weak and unnoticeable at first, then it spreads through the body, corrupting and wasting it, without the afflicted person feeling the pain. Such is the case with the English in their gentleness, their smoothness, the sweetness of their promises, their flattery, and their submissiveness. They strip the owner of his kingdom, indeed the living of his life, while he is captivated by what they conjure for him. There is no doubt that the insult that touches the Ottoman state touches all Muslims in East and West. Every Muslim—and he has the right—considers this

state as his own, even if the regions are distant. The Indians, to this day and beyond, boast of it, and consider themselves among the nations whose authority has not disappeared. They believe that they have a powerful authority in the Ottoman state. Indeed, they believe that their deliverance from the bondage of the English must one day be through its efforts. During the last war, it showed the effects of its bond with it through the religious bond, leaving no doubt for any doubter as to the strength of their connection to it. For this reason, we were amazed at the Ottoman state's silence in these recent times, when the contests of the politicians of...

state intensified, and they struggled in negotiations and debates, advocating for their agents of interests in Egypt, while the state was more deserving and more entitled than all the states to care and to exert effort in defending its established rights, to satisfy the feelings of Muslims in general, to preserve their good faith in it, and to protect its kingdoms and the most important of them—until we learned of a proclamation sent by the Sublime Porte to the states by telegraph, regarding the agreement concluded between France and England on the Egyptian question. It detailed the evil consequences that would arise from the long duration of the English occupation of Egypt, and showed that merely setting a period does not suffice to restrain the English, and that at best it entails the continued involvement of the states and the Ottoman state with the English. It proved that the continued presence of the English troops in Egypt is not a solution to the problem; if the states do not agree that the Ottoman army should solve this problem, for the preservation of the country from disorder, the Sublime Porte is ready to send its troops there, in accordance with its rights there, as it offered to the British state and discussed it. But political obstacles prevented its implementation.

If the states do not agree that the Ottoman army alone should solve this problem, it proposes that Egypt be occupied by a mixed army, composed of Ottomans, French, English, Italians, and Spaniards, and that the states determine the period for both aspects. The Sublime Porte further annoyed the English in this proclamation, saying that the English had finished their work of erasing the rebellion and consolidating the Khedive's authority, but they had not, in improving the condition of Egypt and reforming its system, done anything except to implement some of their previous purposes. We say—as every Muslim proclaims—that it is one of the duties of the Ottoman state not to neglect any means to defend Egypt and to restrain the hand of the English from it, and that its resolve in this should be like its resolve in defending Istanbul itself. It has no reason to fear these thunders and lightning that do not bring rain.

It is right to say that it is within the power of the Ottomans to demolish this glass house (the house of English greatness) with a single stone. If the crisis intensifies, it will be easy for them to work for peace between the Iranians, Afghans, and Baluchis. This will cost them no more than two words, based on a sound religious principle. Then the English will know their own status in the Eastern regions. Did the English dominate the vast Indian lands except through the sectarian conflicts between the Afghans and the Iranians? If we look at them with a discerning eye, we would see that they are a cause of division and disunity. There is no doubt in our minds that removing this discord and renewing harmony between those nations is the easiest thing for the Ottoman state, given its high status in the hearts of

all Muslims. It should not be thought that the English fortification of the British Isles and India would prevent the Ottomans from harming them, because the paths between these and those are cut off, and the routes between the Ottoman and English kingdoms are blocked. For the opinion differs when there is an agreement between the Afghans and Iranians, and the unification of the Persian word... with this road, through Mahmerrah and Bandar Abbas to Baluchistan, is open to the traveller and trodden by the wayfarer. It is the road taken by the first Islamic army sent by Al-Hajjaj ibn Yusuf to conquer Sindh. If this move were made, it would raise dust in the faces of the English, in which they would lose their way. It is well known that the living does not surrender himself to death without defence, as long as he is able to resist. It is enough to send five thousand Ottomans to stir up a million Afghan and Baluch fighters. I do not care whether... if this mutual support, whether small or large, is achieved, and after that the means of communication are facilitated, then let the Ottoman state do what is within its power. Whoever holds fast to God has been guided to a straight path.

Grief has befallen the noblest of the Arabs and the flower of literature, our pure Adib Afandi Ishaq, who met his fate in the prime of youth and the vigour of manhood, leaving us grieving hearts and sorrowful affairs. "To God we belong, and to Him we return."

News Section — Chapter 76: Freedom of the Press and Colonialism!

A grief that melts the body and dissolves the heart, and a regret that rends the livers, for a people of a nation or a person of ambition, who seeks God's help in a work that would save his nation from abasement or bring it benefit. Then there is found in the path of his work from that nation one who emerges like a goat's horn to blind the worker's excellent eye, cutting off from him the means of work and obstructing his purpose, to gain a false praise or an immediate benefit. The example of one who is of this character in the nation is like a stroke of paralysis in the body, or a fracture in the head, or madness in the mind, or a choking obstruction in the throat, or a speck in the eye. Those are the ones who sit in every path, threatening, and deviating from the course of the nation, and confusing its affairs. If there were in these crooked-natured people any remnant of humanity or trace of reason, by which they could perceive what arises from their particular actions of general harms, and feel this great crime that crushes the foundations and demolishes the lofty structures, they would have melted in shame and hidden from people behind the veil of non-existence, and wished that their names were erased from the tablet of existence. But their audacity in their sin shows that they have lost themselves, so they do not know what they are doing. This abominable act, which strips the nation of... no wise man can determine its degree of baseness and meanness, nor can he encompass the extent of the corruption that is

contained in a person who commits such an act. There is no word, no sentence, no book that can describe his condition, except to say: "A traitor to his nation and his homeland."

We have seen what some newspapers in India have done, such as the Oudh Akhbar, published in Lucknow, which shook its head and raised its voice against the newspaper Ameer Tabazar of the Bangala region. This Bengali newspaper published an article showing the bad treatment of the English Indian government, its harshness towards the Indians, its humiliation of them, its violation of their rights, its deprivation of them from serving their homelands, its heavy burdens of taxes upon them, and its monopoly of all the fruits of their toil and effort, with the monopolisation of all the sources of wealth, which has caused severe hardship and distress in the general Indian regions, and has been a cause of the hearts' deviation from the government and their repulsion from it. It then concluded by saying: "After all this, the Indian government has no right to hope for the help of its subjects in the event of a war between it and Russia, nor to expect the Indian troops to sacrifice their lives in its defence. The soldiers share the people's afflictions, and they feel as they feel. It is not right for the British government, with this conduct, to blame the Indians if they prefer the Russian state over it and choose it as a ruler for this land, as it said."

The least that could be expected from this and similar statements was to alert the English government to what has stirred the hearts of the people and constricted their chests, so that it might correct its path and its conduct with the Indians, and lift some of the heavy taxes from

their shoulders, and grant the nationals some positions in the royal or military departments, and stop humiliating and degrading them, so that it might have a support if it were struck by a disaster or a severe war from the north. It was incumbent upon the Indians, especially the educated among them, to support the speaker in his word, or to thank him for his effort, or to leave him alone. Perhaps much or little good would result from that for their homelands and the sons of their nation. But alas! Instead of that, the owner of the Oudh Akhbar twists and deviates from the path of correctness in criticising and rebuking the Bengali newspaper, and then asks the English government to ban that newspaper from being published.

This newspaper, although described by the censor of newspapers in India (the Director of Publications) as a flatterer and a courtier of the government, we had not thought that it would sink so low, nor that it would commit such a great crime in its flattery: demanding the abolition of freedom in Bengal and preventing the sons of its homeland from pointing out some of their rights and complaining of some of their afflictions—there is no power nor might except with God.

News Section — Chapter 77

There is nothing more astonishing than the excuses the English make, nor more strange than the arguments they use. They have no clear premises, no valid proofs. The strongest of their arguments is more worthy of being in the context of jest than of seriousness. But what is more astonishing than their audacity in openly joking with the nations, with what is like nonsense, is the listening of ears to what they say, and the turning of minds away from exposing the fallacy of what they present, and the display of weakness in what they make excuses for, so that the veil may be torn from their purposes, and the hidden aspects of their intentions may appear, and the doubt may be removed from those they deceive with their playfulness. The English sent an army to Egypt and stationed it in its land for no more than two years. Its occupation was a cause of the general disorder, and the widespread corruption in all the lands and the judiciary. The people lost their rights, and fell into poverty and hardship that was unimaginable. None of those atrocities, nor any of these corruptions, nor a small part of these hardships, existed during the movement they called the military sedition. They invented from it a proof of anarchy, and claimed it was a means for intervention with their troops.

The state of Egypt testifies that there was no name for disorder nor any trace of anarchy except after the English had set foot on its soil. Yet they claim that they only came to establish peace, to reform the system, and to remove anarchy. They want their stay there to be extended for a long period, to complete the purpose they came for. They have stipulated their evacuation from it upon the establishment of security, the removal of the danger of aggression, and the reconciliation of the feelings of the people to what is prescribed for them by the rulers in their lands, and their submission to what is decreed for them. How can the English hope for this, when their

presence among them is enough to repel their hearts and increase their natural aversion? Nature dictates that what the English demand of them is impossible. The experience of the past two years has compared the rational judgment with the actual reality. Can the feelings of the Egyptians be safe from anxiety, after they have learned that the English have never conquered a country in the East except under the banner of these arguments, and by this method they are following in Egypt? Have they had authority in any region of the East except by claiming that they wanted reform there, and then they would withdraw from it, righteous in their deeds, pure in their intentions? What do the English want from establishing peace with their troops in Egypt? Do they want to fight the thieves, to force them to lay down their arms, and to spare the people their evil? If this is their intention, how disappointing is hope! For a good portion of these atrocities only occurred while their troops were stationed in the country. It is as if those armies were a source of this corruption. They have been there for two years, in the fortresses of Egypt, and the storms of evil have blown with their arrival. The longer the time, the greater the danger and the stronger the forces of evil. So what could happen in three and a half years except what happened in two years, or even more sedition? How can it be conceivable that their stay in Egypt would be beneficial for the restoration of security? Can the causes of corruption bring about interests? Yes, this would be the case if one said that the heat of the desert cools it, or that the fuel of fire extinguishes it! Do they intend, by establishing peace, to extinguish the sedition of Sudan? If this is their intention, when did they strive for it? What army did they send? What force did they direct to break the power of the revolution and erase its effect?

They rushed with a great army to fight one of Muhammad Ahmad's men, Uthman Digna, on the Red Sea coasts. It was only a skirmish in which the troops were worn out, and the sound of the commanders' retreat reached the far ends of the world. Terror drove them back to the sea, and they returned to their homes, looking back in fear and dread. They should have followed Uthman Digna to Berber and Khartoum, to destroy his force and to attack the claimant himself. If they could not do it all, they could at least have done some of it. What prevented them from their intended course, if they were truthful in it? They retreated, leaving Gordon Pasha in the lion's mouth. Then they turned to the King of Abyssinia, to incite a crusade through him, which would blacken the faces of the liars who claim to be the advocates of humanity and the guardians of civilisation. What would their troops do if they stayed in Egypt for many times as long? I think the future will not differ from the past except in the intensification of its crises and the increase of its calamities.

Do they intend to preserve the original borders of Egypt and protect them from the attacks of the Sudanese, stopping at the limit of defence, and not going beyond that? If this is their goal, it is the goal of the...? What has been proven is that Sudan is Sudanese, and the rebels will be spread throughout all the borders of Egypt. They will continue to spread this call. Indeed, the longer the time, the greater their danger and the stronger their support. Every attack or retreat they make will be a lesson for the English in maintaining the Egyptian borders for defence. So the occupation of the English army in Egypt will have no end, and no period will expire. So why do they impose on

the states, the Ottoman state, and the Egyptians, a limitation of the period of occupation to three and a half years, with the recitation of ambiguous phrases like "establishing peace," "preserving order," "restoring tranquillity"... etc., which are heard but not understood? It is no exaggeration to say that the English occupation was—and will be—the greatest cause of Muhammad Ahmad's strength. Were it not for the presence of the English troops in Egypt, the man would not have dared to make this great call. Indeed, he would have disowned its attribution to him, in the days when the Egyptian government was purely for the Egyptians.

Indeed, no one would have answered his call or entered under his banner. These are the histories of nations, and this is the course of the nature of things, guiding the insightful to the fact that such a call is only made by a claimant in a nation when crises intensify and foreigners advance upon it. What better proof for Muhammad Ahmad in calling people to him, and what breath gathers hearts around him more powerfully than to say: "The English intend to seize the land of Egypt, which is among the sacred lands, the gate of the Two Holy Sanctuaries, and the cradle of religious sciences, and the pillar of Islamic power. Whoever believes in God and His Messenger, let him answer God's caller in fighting them, and saving the land from their filth." This talk stirs the heart of every Muslim and drives him to agree with the one who calls. Can it be imagined, after the fall of Khartoum and the English army stationed in Egypt, that Muhammad Ahmad's call would stop at limited borders, while he claims to be the saviour of the Muslims? Is it far from reason that the flame of his blaze would extend to Islamic regions, from which the English fear the calamity of sedition as they fear it in India? We may see the situation closer to fear than to security.

The English will learn that they were the ones who drove people away from peace and pushed them to contentment. What force can stop this call, prevent it from spreading, indeed, turn it back on its speaker, as if he had never uttered it, or make hearts submit to it? No force can achieve this effect in the best way except the force of the Ottomans and the men of resolve among the Egyptians. Does Britain think that holding a conference to settle the Egyptian debt would slow Muhammad Ahmad's march, or ease his burden, or turn him back, so that it might achieve its purpose and become secure and at ease in the land of Egypt? It is still incapable of satisfying the states to accept the preliminary principles it wants to be the subject of the conference. The settlement of the Egyptian debt concerns England alone. We do not think it concerns the states, nor does it concern Muhammad Ahmad. We see the states—especially Russia, Austria, and the French nation—greatly concerned with uncovering the intentions of the English and revealing their purposes in what they stipulated, of confining the discussion to financial matters.

The intensity of the opposition, the multitude of negotiations, and the insistence of the states in demanding that the discussion in the conference be comprehensive, covering all branches of the Egyptian question, have caused doubt for the owner of the Times regarding the convening of the conference, and have driven Mr. Gladstone to great distress. He is in a state of confusion, not knowing what to do to calm the feelings of the states, indeed, not even to convince his own sincere supporters, indeed, not even to reconcile his colleagues in the ministry, due to the disunity of their word and the divergence of their opinions. As for the man of Sudan, he is heedless of all these arguments, and ignores what happens in their course. It is all the same to him whether the conference is held according to England's wish or according to

general opinion. He is advancing in his course, following his thought. No day passes without us hearing of a conquest or a march. Until the latest news came of his entry into the capital of Sudan, Khartoum.

A telegram from Cairo to the Daily Telegraph dated July... stated that letters had arrived from some Sudanese soldiers in Khartoum to trustworthy people in Cairo, mentioning that the city's garrison had grown too weak to continue defending, and they had been promised protection from any harm they feared. With the weakness of the garrison and the people's trust in the promise of the conqueror, the city was opened with great ease at the end of May, without shedding blood. Many of the Europeans converted to Islam. Gordon, while still holding to his religion and not changing it, entered the protection of the conquerors and was taken to Muhammad Ahmad, unharmed and untouched by evil. In another report on the same date, it was stated that the priest "Sogaro" and the priests of the Catholic mission in Sudan had received news from the people of Khartoum that the city had been opened and Gordon had fallen prisoner, and he was still alive. The Daily Telegraph reported that a merchant in Cairo received a letter from south of Berber, informing him that Khartoum is open to those who wish to trade there, although it is in the hands of the Sudanese armies.

A message from the Le Temps offices in Suakin stated that a group of notables in Khartoum, driven by zeal to take revenge on Gordon for the two officers he had killed on charges of treason (Hussein Pasha and Saeed Pasha), attacked and killed him. They then agreed with the besiegers to surrender the city, and they entered it safely. The

correspondent claims that the British government has known of this incident for a long time, but kept it secret for fear of stirring thoughts against it. We are not concerned with Gordon's death, his life, his comfort, or his hardship. What appears from all this news is that Khartoum has become Sudanese, not English nor Egyptian. If Mr. Gladstone's ministry can refute these widespread rumours, it may find it difficult to deny what follows them. The power of the caller will grow stronger after the fall of Khartoum, and it will pave many ways for him to reach Upper or Lower Egypt. The effect of his call will travel great distances in the shortest moments. The thoughts of the Egyptians have been stirred and their hearts have been moved by this news. Perhaps after today we will hear that the wind of the south has carried dust raised by the hooves of the horses of sedition, and it has crossed the borders of Egypt.

If this is the nature of the movements in Sudan, then the English tying of their evacuation to their cessation testifies to their desire for permanent occupation, as long as Muhammad Ahmad and his successors remain. Moreover, we doubt the ability of their troops to preserve the Egyptian borders. The limits of their power have appeared on the Red Sea coasts. Yes, perhaps it crosses the minds of the British ministers to deceive the Ottoman state and to force it to declare Muhammad Ahmad a rebel and to lead the people astray, to turn hearts away from him, and then to reap the fruit, just as they reaped it from declaring Ahmad 'Urabi a rebel. But the right path has become clear from the error, and the evil intentions of the English and their violation of its rights have become clear to the Ottoman state. It is not likely to be deceived by them a second time. The believer is not stung from the same hole twice. It is also almost impossible for an Ottoman to permit the sending of Ottoman armies to Sudan, to

humiliate the English in Cairo, and to... the extinguishing of the sedition amidst the English negotiations.

For this reason, it is upon the Ottoman ministers and the men of resolve among the Egyptians to unite their affairs in repelling this calamity, to preserve their homelands, and to ward off evil that may arise in other regions. If the greed of the English state prevents the rightful owners from performing their duty, out of ignorance of its own interest and the interests of those lands, then the Ottomans must establish their proof with their swords and armies, not with papers and documents. For this is corruption that, if neglected, would become general and widespread. We do not think that Britain will persist in this foolishness, for it will soon be preoccupied with internal matters over external ones. We say what we say, and we warn... But the call of the Sudanese ruler has stirred the hearts of many in India, Baluchistan, and Afghanistan. The fire of revolution has hung by the fringes of thoughts, and it will not be long before it blazes. The Ottoman state can extend its view to the depths of the question, and estimate the power of the English and their military capability, with due regard to their troubles in their kingdoms, the appearance of their incapacity and weakness in recent events, and the consideration of the opinions of the majority of the great states.

After understanding all of this—which is easier than anything easy—it will show a firm resolve and a strong determination worthy of a great state like the Ottoman state, on whose hands wonders have often appeared. And to God belongs the command before and after.

News Section — Chapter 78: The Sublime Porte

The Standard mentioned that the Sublime Porte's opposition to England's ambitions is not limited to the refusal to make Egypt a Belgian government in Africa, under the protection of the states, as Gladstone intends to present to the conference. Rather, the Ottoman state has informed its ambassador in London, Musurus Pasha, that whenever Gladstone's memorandum is placed for discussion in the conference, it will send him instructions for a strong opposition to this matter and everything like it (which touches the rights of the state and the Egyptians). We do not doubt that the Ottoman state, with this resolve, has performed a religious duty, and its like should be performed in Egypt and in the rest of the Ottoman kingdoms. Every person of insight realises that the preservation of a part of its kingdoms depends on the preservation of the other, and negligence in one of them causes disruption in the rest. It is enough of a lesson that Gladstone's mere request for the freedom of the Suez Canal led the Russian state to demand the freedom of the Bosphorus, as the Russian newspapers mentioned. This prompted some Russian politicians to say that the Egyptian question has now become a focus for the Eastern Question. We do not think that any of this is hidden from the wise Ottomans.

News Section — Chapter 79: Awakening from Slumber

"Our Lord, grant us from Yourself mercy and prepare for us from our affair right guidance." (Qur'an 18:10)
"Our Lord, expand our hearts for what is good for us and good for all the people of our creed. O God, You know our good and our success lies in our unity, our harmony, our connection to the ties of our religion, and our holding fast to Your firm rope. O God, forgive us the sins of our negligence in what You have obligated upon us, by guiding us to repentance and helping us to remedy what has been neglected and to perform what is possible of what You have commanded."

A time passed in which the Indians were negligent when the English intervened in their affairs. They turned away from each other, and each turned his face from the other. They did not listen to God's call to hold fast to His rope. So they tasted the evil consequences of their affair, and all fell under the authority of the English state. It dominated them, and the masters took them as servants and retainers, after it had claimed to be their faithful servant. It was not content to be a just mistress; indeed, it exceeded all limits of justice in them, and tyrannised over them unjustly. When the flames of cruelty scorched them, some of them turned to others, and they all rose to free

themselves from the shackles of their oppressors, about twenty-four years ago. But their Afghan, Baluch, and Iranian brothers were heedless of what they had risen for, and did not extend a hand of help to them. Indeed, the Iranians were at war with the English, but they did not connect with the Indians, nor did they unite with them in cooperating for their common cause. Likewise, they did not connect with the Ottomans in that. The neglect of their neighbours and the firm establishment of the enemy among them was the cause of the dominance of the foreign oppressors over them.

If the negligent had reflected, they would have known that if the enemy becomes strong in India, its power would grow, and it would then turn on them, inflicting on them what it had inflicted on their brothers. After this, the foreign enemy advanced on Baluchistan and engaged with it in fighting. The Afghans and Iranians were negligent in supporting them, so it was able to dominate a great part of their lands. Then it turned on the Afghans, and a great war broke out between them, lasting about two years. No vein in the Indians stirred, no arm was extended from the Iranians, and there was no connection between them and the Ottomans. If they had all had foresight, they would have realised that the life of each of them is tied to the life of the others. The enemy went to extremes in its encroachment, until it attacked the Ottoman kingdoms by sending its armies to the Egyptian territories, which are the greatest province of the Ottomans, indeed the most important of the Islamic lands. It is now trying to seize those lands and to dominate their government, disregarding the rights of the Ottoman state and disrespecting its legal authority.

At first, the Muslims were as negligent as they had been before, not paying attention to what had befallen this Ottoman Islamic land, thinking that the enemy would be truthful in its promise, or fearing the

evil outcome of its greed. But when they saw it drowning in its error, deeply entrenched in its course, deluded by its power, and setting its snares, their foundations were shaken and their firmness was stirred. They awoke from their slumber and regretted their past negligence. They felt that what had befallen some of them today would inevitably touch all of them tomorrow. Thus, the Egyptian question became a means of reviving religious brotherhood, as the letters we have received from Persia, India, and Afghanistan have given us glad tidings. If the English persist in their greed, and their avarice drives them to violate the rights of the Ottomans, and the Ottoman state stands firm in defence and demand, it will have from the Muslims, who are capable of harming the English, those who will support it, fulfilling what God has obligated.

After giving thanks to those sincere believers for the religious zeal they have shown, which their letters have indicated, we ask them to preserve the unity of the general creed and the community of the true Sharia, and to turn a deaf ear to the voices of the ghouls that call to them in the dark nights, imitating the voices of humans, but they are the voices of rebellious devils, seeking to divide the word, to scatter the community, and to extinguish zeal. We ask God Almighty for firmness for the Muslims on the principles of unity and the foundations of harmony, and that their desires do not lead them to make the differences in secondary matters a cause for dissolving the Islamic community, which is based on faith in God, His angels, His Books, His Messengers, and the Last Day. And that they do not make this difference a pretext for the enemies to destroy their creed and corrupt their authority. And God guides whom He wills to the straight path.

News Section — Chapter 80: An English Trick

Many Indian newspapers, including the Akhbar-i 'Am, have mentioned that a considerable number of Englishmen are converting to Islam these days. Speculations about this new phenomenon have multiplied. There is a consensus that the motive is not a good belief in this religion, nor submission to its sacred laws. Rather, the purpose is to deceive the Muslims with their problems, so that they may rely on them, and to increase their trust in them, and to put them at ease regarding what their hearts harbour of inclination to Muhammad Ahmad the Sudanese's call. This indicates that this call has taken root in the hearts of the Indians, and its status among them has become great. The English fear its spread, and they are trying to stop it through these means. Some newspapers said: The fear of submission to the Sudanese call has been added to the fear of the Russians' approach to the borders of India. The combination of the two has caused great terror, which has driven the English to... the Muslims and... the sincere ones. Indeed, the sincerity and justice of some of them has led them to adopt the Islamic religion, to win the hearts of the simple ones, especially those... and to ward off... But the summer has wasted the milk. It would have been possible for them to do this through moderation in authority, and by taking some of the matter before the

danger approached. But the time for that has passed, and the hearts have become filled with hatred. The general public of Muslims, and indeed others among the Indians, are certain that the English have in every interest a corruption, in every good a sin, and in every purity a flaw. They are the deceivers, the traitors, indeed, the liars, the hypocrites. These are their qualities; no Muslim has any doubt about them. The trick will not benefit them in the least, nor will it bring them any good. They will gain nothing from it except the Muslims' knowledge of the extent of their course when they are in difficulty, and their increased insight into their affair, and their certainty of their weakness, since they have no means left except to abandon their religion and enter the religion of the Muslims, to please their feelings. We do not need to warn the Muslims against them. We are certain that there is no Muslim in all of India who is not fully aware of what his English rulers intend for him. So he will not trust them, even if they were truthful.

News Section — Chapter 81: The English's Affection for the Muslims

It appears from the letters and telegrams received from Cairo that the English have succeeded in kindling a crusade between Abyssinia and

the Muslims of Sudan. God knows what the outcome will be if its sparks fly. Perhaps there is no Muslim who believes in Muhammad's religion who will not strive with his soul and wealth to frustrate the English actions and to repel their schemes. Especially the Muslims of India, who are deceived by the deception of their rulers and their claim that their state is the supporter of Islam and the ally of the Ottoman state. News has come that on the 15th of July 1885, according to the agreement concluded between Admiral Hewett and the King of Abyssinia, Massawa is to be open for the anchorage of Abyssinian ships from the month of September. This would either be by taking it from the hands of the Egyptians, indeed the Ottomans, indeed the Muslims, and making it an English town, which the English permit to whomever they wish and forbid to whomever they wish; or by offering it as a fief to the King of Abyssinia. Among its provisions is that the King should allow the Egyptian garrison to establish fortresses on the borders of his kingdom, so that if the Sudanese attack them—considering them to be Egyptian fortresses—the King would use this as a pretext to fight them, claiming they are within his borders. Thus, war would break out and its heat would blaze between the Christians of Abyssinia and the Muslims of Sudan. Since the British government's aim is to annex Egypt and its dependencies to itself—as evidenced by its interest in extending the railway between Suakin and Berber—it has taken a pledge from the King to accept what the Queen of England decrees in any disputes that arise between him and the Egyptian government, even if the judgment is based on custom and political principles are not observed. This is the state whose voice of its claim to be the protector of Islam and Muslims, and the supporter of the Ottomans, has reached the two horizons! Let

every Muslim know that its intention is the extinction of this religion and its people from the face of the earth, even if that is not easy for it.

News Section — Chapter 82: Transgression in Deception

The English state has become renowned for enchanting the Easterners and taking them by guile, until its paths have become clear from the many times they have been trodden. The face of the trick has turned, its hidden side has appeared, and it has become like the games of children, whose secret is known to the clever and the foolish alike. From the day Lord Dufferin was in Cairo to investigate the condition of Egypt and to determine its system for its government (as they claim), he hinted to the government to abandon Sudan. Then Major Baring came after him and obliged the government to renounce its right to it, because it cost it heavy expenses and had no benefit for it. The government gave up Sudan, and this was the best opportunity for... to carry out its plans under the cover of the Ottoman state, pretending to guarantee the borders and to undertake the evacuation of Sudan. The "favour" would thus be to the Sudanese, for their (illusory) independence, and the connection between them and the British state would be special. No sooner had he arrived in Khartoum than he established Muhammad Ahmad as the Amir of Kordofan, and began

to return the Sudanese provinces to their ancient kings or their sons. The purpose of this manoeuvre was only that after the Egyptians' renunciation, Sudan would become a free-for-all, with no one having a right to it, so that whoever reached it first could take it, without political problems arising. This would make it easy for the English, sooner or later, to take control of it and snatch it from the hands of its small princes, and it would be some compensation for Egypt if the states' opposition kept them away from it, as we have pointed out in one of the issues.

In these recent times, the English government has taken another toy out of its bag. It has used Gordon's distress in Khartoum as a great pretext to pave a road for the armies to rescue him. It issued orders to one of the large factories to prepare the machinery and to appoint engineers and craftsmen, to proceed to the Red Sea coasts and to begin the construction of a railway from Suakin to Berber, as the Pall Mall Gazette mentioned. It claims that its only motive for this is the desire to rescue Gordon! If Gordon is in danger and needs the sending of armies to rescue him, would he remain alive until the railway is built, and the mountains and valleys are cut through, and the trains carrying the armies travel on it, while the news has indicated that he has fallen prisoner or has been killed? If we assume Gordon's destruction—as is most likely—or his salvation, would England demolish the railway and destroy its construction after spending vast sums on it, or would it donate it to the Egyptian government out of generosity and kindness? No, by God! Neither this nor that. Rather, it has taken the nearest path to the occupation of Sudan. The extension of the railway in that

direction would make it easy for it to gain authority over Eastern Sudan.

If it establishes its authority there, it will connect it to the Western Sudan, and it will not encounter any difficulty in that. In the meantime, it will build... and protect it with a large force to secure communication with the Sudanese lands, for it would open a door for English trade and close, by its nature, the door of benefit to Egypt. Goods would come in... and they would take from them what they need, from... to Suakin, and from Suakin to Sudan, without reaching the hands of the Egyptians. Sudanese commercial goods would be transported from inside Sudan to Berber, then carried to Suakin and exported to Europe, without an Egyptian seeing them. If the English take over Egypt—God forbid—they would deprive the nationals of sharing with them in Sudan's trade, which is one of the richest sources of their commercial wealth. If events force them to... they would monopolise... and by this, many commercial houses in Egypt would collapse, and thousands of souls would be destroyed by their ruin. The real purpose of extending the railway from Suakin to Berber is only to reach a flowing spring of the springs of Egyptian wealth, and to divert its course from Egypt to the British Isles. We will come to detail the losses that would afflict the people of Egypt from the extension of this railway in another issue.

This is one of the crimes of the English, who, after seizing India, forbade the inhabitants of all their kingdoms from cultivating commercial crops such as indigo and the like, and monopolised their cultivation for the English government. They added to the injustice by ruling that all independent governments under the Nawabs and Rajahs should not cultivate opium, on the pretext that the English Indian government cultivates it, so no one else could work on its

cultivation—so that the profit would not be reduced, i.e., so that they alone would benefit from what they monopolised. These are the effects of their injustice, proven by the ruin of ancient houses and the poverty of noble families, in every country where they have a say. They continue to apply this law in every region that the feet of their men tread, near or far. So let the insightful look and let the wise beware.

News Section — Chapter 83: An Opportunity That Must Not Be Missed

The invitations were published, and the great states were called to hold a conference in London, after long negotiations between the French and English governments. What was the conference, and what did the English government intend by the invitation to it? What did the states intend by the presence of their representatives in it? And what goal did the cunning politician Lord Bismarck seek? The conference was held and then became sterile, and those purposes remained hidden in the hearts of their owners. The English government was aspiring to seize Egypt in the name of an Egyptian prince. Obstacles had long prevented its ambition, until the cursed opportunity of the 'Urabi movement presented itself. By that movement, it was able to satisfy

the states and to obtain permission from the Ottoman state to intervene to stop it. Thus, it was easy for it to enter Egypt with the intention of not leaving. Does the thirsty one spit out the cold, fresh water from his mouth? It thought it had taken possession of Egypt, and found a heavy debt upon it, so it wished to lighten it, because it saw that what is spent from Egypt's treasury is deducted from England's treasury. It did not intend by its alleviation to have mercy on the peasants, nor was it motivated by compassion for the Egyptians.

Whoever thinks that the English government intended mercy in this or in any of its other actions is blind-sighted. It intended to blind the states to its actions, so that it might gain their approval, thus giving it more room to manoeuvre later. It began by winning over France and concluding an agreement with it, which accustomed the politicians to being content with what it wanted. Then Sir Baring created a financial memorandum, in which he proved Egypt's inability to pay its debts. However, the men of the states were too clever to be deceived. They knew that the Nile Valley was more in need of justice and good administration than of debt relief. It was not hidden from the politicians that if Egypt's administration were entrusted to a ruler of effective word, strong resolve, and wide experience in the country's affairs, it would be able to pay what it owed and even more—even if it was a burden on a commercial state. The French agreement set the extension of the military occupation to three and a half years, and then it would leave, on the condition that all states agreed to its departure. It tied it to what is almost impossible, to make it easy for it to evade. But it was not lost on the politicians of the other states that England's stay in Egypt would only increase its ruin.

When the conference was held, the French Monsieur de Blignières exposed the mistakes in Baring's memorandum. England then began to

threaten France with inclination towards Germany. But the German ambassador, who is a disciple of Prince Bismarck and acts only on his instruction, was more inclined to France. Bismarck's policy is based on dividing France and England—and this has happened. Despair came over the English government regarding the alleviation of the expense on the kingdom it claimed to have possessed. So it dissolved the conference, or it dissolved by its nature. The European states became on one side, and England alone on the other. It was not the opinion of the states that they should be a tool in England's hand, to be used to achieve its purposes. The English newspapers raged with anger against Germany, reminding it that its seizure of Alsace and Lorraine was only with the moral help of England. The Austrian and German newspapers became agitated, attacking and criticising English policy. The governments of Germany and Austria agreed to oblige England to set a time limit for the payment of the damages resulting from... The English government is in a state of severe trembling and fear of a bad outcome. However, as is its custom, it attempts to... and it claimed that it... it undertook to...
to conquer Egypt, to establish its authority there, and to extinguish the sedition of Sudan, thinking it was capable of doing so. So it appointed commanders and chose Lord Northbrook, the bitterest enemy of the Muslims and the destroyer of the Easterners' houses, to undertake the work for his state in Egypt. But alas and alas!

We leave now the statement of what would result from England's isolation from the other states in the matter of Egypt to another issue, and we present a disclosure of the essence of their general situation.

First: The English, in their usual custom, when they intend to seize a region, do not declare their intention until they have established themselves in it and have no opponent internally or externally. If we assume that the Egyptians and all the states agreed now, and asked England to declare its possession of Egypt, the English government would refrain and show modesty and contentment. Mr. Gladstone would appear in the garb of goodness and justice, and his ministers would speak of their only concern being the reform of the country and the provision of its benefits. Under this veil, they act as owners, monopolising the highest positions, running the country's government as they wish, transferring its wealth to their island, and tearing it into pieces, giving away what they do not care about to the country's enemies, to help them humiliate and enslave it. And they... with the government of... the English government, with its military force and its threats and intimidations, and its vast commercial power and its deep-seated tricks, to terrify every ignorant person and frighten every foolish one. For this reason, it does not establish itself by its intrigues in a region except at a time of... Then the people's... and their... and their actions... the resistance of the people is many times stronger than the military force gathered in specific places under the command of specific leaders, which is defeated by their defeat.

What happened to the English government with the Afghans is the greatest witness to what we say. The English government entered the land of Afghanistan with sixty thousand soldiers and seized the cities. But as soon as its forces spread in the plains and mountains, and were distributed among the fortresses, the sixty thousand were unable to

hold their ground in defence. The English government was forced, after two years of domination, and after spending thirty million pounds sterling, to invite Amir Abd al-Rahman Khan from Russia, after he had lived with the Russians for twelve years, honoured and respected. His return cost four million rupees, which were spent on his administration and the organisation of his country. The English government only submits to necessity, and necessity has its own laws. So the Arab tribes and their sheikhs in Egypt must remember their Arab magnanimity and their religious zeal, and follow the example of the Afghans, to save their country from the hands of their foreign enemies, who, if they establish themselves in the country, would annihilate and humiliate them. It is not sedition to call upon them to demand their rights and to defend their religion and their homeland, as some of those who meddle in politics think. We are only calling upon the owner of the house to defend his family and his property, and to remove the claws of his enemy from his entrails.

This is what the callers of truth in every nation call for. The ancient and modern history of Europe, and the histories of the Eastern nations, from their beginning to their end, testify to the truth of what we say.

The Egyptians in general, and the peasants in particular, must unite in refusing the government everything it demands of them, and to raise their voices with a single cry, saying: We will not obey except a national, Muslim ruler, of effective word, firm opinion, and capable of governing the country with national strength. Let them call upon all the states in this, and prove their capability, and establish proofs that the interest of the creditors cannot be preserved except by answering

their demand. If they do this, they will find for them supporters among the states, and even among the English themselves! The Ottoman state must remember that had it not been for its firman declaring 'Urabi a rebel, it would not have been easy for the English to establish a foothold in Egypt... it would have had to wait a long time, and it would not have had the same justification, and the solution would have been for the one who made the treaty, and the treaty for the one who solved it. It must not forget that Egypt is the linchpin of the Ottoman kingdoms, as we have repeatedly said. It must not be heedless of Austria and its greed, Russia and its ambition, and France and its hopes. It is a natural thing that competition or balance drives rivals to race in greed. If one is negligent, he will find no help from his people afterwards. If the Ottomans move, they will find support from all Muslims, especially since there has been a coolness between the Afghan Emirate and the English government. Indeed, we repeat what we have said many times: the influence of the Ottomans in India prevents the English from openly declaring their enmity to them. This is an opportunity for boldness. If the opportunity passes, it may be difficult to remedy, and nothing will remain but regret, where regret does not help. May God guide the Ottoman state to what is good for it and good for the Muslims, and may He grant it success in wisdom, and protect it from the evils of the corruptors.

One of the great men of authority and decision among the Muslims asked us to publish the following statement in its entirety: "Cursed is he who betrays his country for a sickness in his heart. Cursed is he who sells the people of his creed for a trifle he takes pleasure in. Cursed is he who enables the infidels to enter his land, and who, from the neglect of his religion, belittles the great and makes the mighty small, and paves the way for the lowering of his word to elevate the word of the strangers. Cursed is he in whose heart there stirs the thought of bringing shame upon his nation to complete a deficiency in his pleasure. How strange and astonishing! There is no power nor might except with God. Is it true that five million from the past and five million from the future have enabled the foreigners to take Egypt, which is the key to the Hejaz and the gate of the Syrian lands? Far be it, far be it! Does a sick-hearted one think he will be left until this abomination is committed? Does he think he will live to enjoy what his hands have earned? Does he imagine he will remain alive on the face of the earth while there is a Muslim on it? I do not think he will have any share of survival, even if he were in towers of steel."

News Section — Chapter 85: Tawfiq Pasha is Asked to Die a Martyr!

The English lean on Tawfiq Pasha in their movement in Egypt, and use him as a tool to destroy his country and demolish his kingdom. Whatever evil they do, they attribute to him; and whatever good might be found, they attribute to themselves, and they turn it away from him. In the meantime, they alienate him from the Islamic state, and they use him to neglect religious principles, while he inclines with them and supports them in their purposes, and submits the country to them with what remains of his formal authority, as he appears to be religious and observant of prayers. If his inner self matches his outer appearance, and he believes in the religion of Islam, then he must withdraw from authority and leave the matter to its people, to save his own soul from the sin that will befall him and befall the house of Muhammad Ali from his actions. If he does not do this, then he must openly declare his belief, resist the English with all his might, and die a martyr in the path of his religion and his homeland. Otherwise, it will not benefit him at all before God to show his special retinue and his household that he resents the English, hates their presence in Egypt, and wishes they would leave!—as we have been told by private news from Egypt. If Tawfiq Pasha persists in his twisted course, the Egyptians must not fall prey to the English through this worn-out trap and this weak snare. Let them look to their own affairs and to what the obligations of their religion require of them. Otherwise, God is not unaware of them.

News Section — Chapter 86: These Are the Men of England, and These Are Their Ideas

The publication of the newspaper was delayed for a few days, due to a necessity of weakness in the constitution, coinciding with the bad weather in the French lands these days. Praise be to God for the removal of the obstacle. However, we did not neglect in that time the performance of our duty in the work we have undertaken in defending the rights of the Muslims. We were created—and thanks be to God—for this work, and we were made for it. We hope from the Judge of the heavens and the earth that we may die in this path, and that we may be counted among the martyrs in it.

We decided that Sheikh Muhammad 'Abduh (the chief editor of this newspaper) should go to London, in response to the invitation of those from whom good for our creed is hoped, and from whom sincere intention in serving the interests of the Muslims is expected, among the men of English politics. He is to discover the positions of the political traps, into which no Easterner's foot has ever stepped without falling into what is difficult to escape from. He is to fathom the depths of English ambitions, whose limits cannot be perceived. Those

ambitions, after having devoured a third of the inhabited world and encircled the globe with conquest and possession, have not ceased to expand, without ebb. The men of the British government are still fiercely eager to devour the kingdoms of the world. Every time they digest a region, they seek another. He is to explore the hidden purposes from within their thoughts and the folds of their words, and to learn the familiar ways of those politicians in deception, and to see how they manage to present the beauties of good deeds in ugly forms that every observer would condemn, and to present evil deeds in pleasant colours that please the onlooker, so that a just balance may be established, by which the counterfeit is distinguished from the pure gold, so that the ignorant may not be deceived, nor the learned slip.

The Editor (of the newspaper) met many of the English politicians and the most penetrating of people in opinion among them. Long conversations took place between him and them about the Egyptian conditions. Among his preliminary conversations, some were published in some English newspapers, such as the Pall Mall Gazette, the Truth, edited by the famous MP Mr. Labouchère, and the Times. Something of what took place between him and their ideas will be mentioned later. For now, we will mention one statement from a long conversation that took place between him and Lord Hartington, the English Minister of War, so that every Egyptian may take his share from it, and every Easterner may receive his portion, and all of them may know the position of the Easterners in the eyes of the English government.

Lord Hartington, the English Minister of War, asked: "Would it not satisfy the Egyptians to be in security and comfort under the authority of the English government? Do they not see our government as better for them than the government of the Turks, and such-and-such Pasha, and such-and-such Pasha?" The Sheikh (the Editor of our newspaper) answered: "No. The Egyptians are an Arab people, and all of them are Muslims except a few. Among them are those who love their homeland, just as there are in the English nation. It would not cross the mind of any of them to incline to submit to the authority of one who opposes them in religion and race. It would not be proper for his Lordship, who is aware of the natures of nations, to imagine such an inclination in the Egyptians." The Minister said: "Do you deny that ignorance is prevalent in the regions of Egypt, and that the general public does not distinguish between the foreign ruler and the national ruler, and that what you have mentioned of the aversion to the authority of foreigners is only found in civilised nations?"

The Sheikh became angry with a fitting anger for a Muslim who does not neglect the performance of what religion has commanded and what the rights of the Sharia require, and said: "Firstly, the aversion to the authority of the foreigner and the natural rejection of his rule is something implanted in human nature, and it does not need study and reading. It is a human feeling whose strength has appeared in the most savage of nations, such as the Zulu tribes, who have not forgotten what you suffered from them in defending their homelands. Secondly, Muslims, whatever their condition and whatever degree they may be found in, do not reach the degree of ignorance that the Minister imagines. Their illiterate ones, who neither read nor write, do not miss the knowledge of the necessities of their religion. Among the most

important and obvious of these to them is not to submit to those who oppose them in it. The Friday sermons and the admonitions of the preachers in their mosques serve for them the purpose of primary education. All that they receive of religious advice warns them against submitting to those who do not agree with them, and it reminds the Egyptians, who speak the Arabic tongue and understand the subtleties of what is contained in that tongue—which is the language of their religion—of this.

Thirdly, since the time of Muhammad Ali, the land of Egypt has been filled with new sciences and literatures, similar to what exists in the lands of Europe. Every Egyptian has taken his share of them according to his ability. There is no small village without readers and writers. Public news reaches them through the Arabic newspapers. Whoever does not read, learns the news from the readers. By this, they have added to their natural feeling and religious tradition a patriotic love whose source is general education, which has strengthened the two first inclinations. I do not think they differ in this from other nations."

Where are the intelligent scholars? Where are the foolish ignoramuses? Where are the upper classes? Where are the lower classes? Let each one of them see the position of the Easterners in the eyes of the English government. This Lord Hartington, the English Minister of War, thinks that ignorance among Muslims in general and Egyptians in particular has reached the point of stripping them of every human feeling, and that they are in the depths of ignorance, unable to distinguish between the stranger and the relative, nor between the enemy and the friend. This is proof that the

English—except those whose sight God has enlightened and guided to understand what is right—consider the Eastern nations to be in the degree of animals and grazing cattle, suffering only from hunger and the material forces of nature. They have no feeling except a kind of physical emotion, and they know of their affairs only what sustains their animal life. They become accustomed to their rider, the one who works them, and the one who uses them in any hard labour, as long as he provides them with food and drink. They are happy and cheerful at the sight of the one who brings them their food and dinner, even if he is the greatest of calamities to them, by what he imposes on them of hard work. If they are unable to work, he slaughters them and feeds on their flesh!

Behold, then, and wonder! If this is the belief of the men of the English government in the nations they dominate, what treatment would they give them? Do they not treat them as cattle and animals? Yes, and this is how they treat them. This is their conduct in the Indian lands, testifying in the clearest language to what they do. The Egyptians are now between two things, the better of which is the easier: either they support each other, cooperate, spend their wealth and lives to preserve their human honour and their Arab status, and to fulfil the right of their religious faith, and to free themselves from the slavery of a people who look at them only as they look at mules and donkeys. If they attempt this, they will find for them, from their Muslim brothers, supporters who are now waiting for a movement from them. This is the nobler of the two things, and it is not difficult for them. Or they will strip themselves of all human characteristics,

cast off the adornment of faith, the honour of the Arabs will disown them, and they will place the yoke of servitude on their necks, and let them share with the animals in their portion, and let them prepare for every humiliation and accept every injustice. This is the harder and meaner of the two things. I do not think an Egyptian would choose it for himself. If he chooses it—God forbid—God will take them away and make other people inherit the land. God is jealous for His religion, jealous for justice, and avenger of the astray. "To God we belong, and to Him we return."

News Section — Chapter 87: Lord Northbrook, the New Governor of Egypt

We have frequently, in our newspaper, explained the paths of the English in possessing India and humiliating its people. We have mentioned that the course of the English government in conquering lands is not like the course of conquerors who march with their horses and men upon regions, killing and being killed, until they overcome those they want. We have said that the English have possessed nearly a third of the world without shedding much blood, nor spending vast sums. Rather, they have possessed what they possess by laying snares, entering every land like a silkworm, and appearing in the form of

faithful servants and sincere advisors, seeking comfort and establishing order! We have repeatedly called out that the English, when they want to intervene in the kingdom of an Easterner, and see that the one in charge is a skilful, farsighted man, and that his presence in the kingdom slows their march towards what they intend, they hasten to cause confusion for him. They either corrupt his subjects' hearts against him and stir up enmities against him, or they tempt one of the members of the royal family with promises and hopes, and set him up as a rival.

When they find a way, they agree with the ministers to depose the holder of authority; then they appoint in his place either a weak, foolish person, or a minor who has not reached maturity, whether from the king's sons or his relatives, to enable them to achieve their purposes under his name, and to reach their goals in his name, cutting a long distance in a short time, with no obstacle or obstruction, while gaining a great reward for what they have done at the beginning of the work. This is what they did not long ago with Raja Broda; they deposed him on a false pretext, when they sensed insight and resolve in him. They appointed a young child from his family in his place, then set themselves up as his guardians. They laid their hands on all his treasury, took over the administration of his kingdoms, and took command of his armies, leaving him with nothing but the name, mentioned but not thanked! All this under the banner of justice and reform, the preservation of peace and the establishment of order. They were led to it only by the motive of love and sincerity (and there is no mention there of the name of possession and occupation). Yes, they have the right to preserve one name and to be silent about the other. The Eastern princes do not care about what the names indicate; they care only about the resonance of words and the grandeur of titles!

When the Eastern prince is stripped of his kingdom, his wealth, and all his rights, and his title and its appurtenances remain to him, he is in a state of intoxication with the pleasure of what remains to him, and in oblivion of what has been taken from him. This is a quality the English have recognised in every Eastern prince. So why would they not content themselves with preserving these names, after they have been stripped of their meanings? And what motive would drive the English men to disturb the hearts of the princes by taking away these titles? A grand title is a fortified fortress in which the Eastern prince is imprisoned, or a deep pit into which he is thrown, while he imagines it to be a paradise whose breadth is the heavens and the earth. So let the princes of the East live enjoying the bliss of their titles and the happiness of their names. Let it suffice them for glory to be called among their servants and their special retainers, within their own circles, "Nawab Sahib," "Raja Sahib," "Khedive Sahib," "Sultan Sahib"—and what a shame! These titles once pointed to vast dominion, lofty glory, powerful might, and authority before which the highest peaks bowed.

How have the souls of the Eastern princes become content to accept them stripped of all honour, with nothing left of their meaning except authority over servants and retainers? And they are not even free in that; they must agree with the wishes of the foreigners.

The most cunning of the English government in the art of trickery, the most skilful in the craft of deception, the longest-handed in hypocrisy, the most skilled in inventing means to seize kingdoms from their owners, and the most famous in enmity to the Muslims—that is the

respected Lord Northbrook. This man was a governor in India, and he made its people taste torment, under the guise of love and friendship. How many houses he ruined, how many thrones he overturned, how many high places he lowered, and how many mighty ones he humiliated! And in all his evil deeds, he weeps tears of compassion and sheds drops of mercy on the Indians, saying: "I am the first Englishman who cares for the welfare of the people of India. I am alone among the English in loving the Hindus and striving for what brings them righteousness and success. I ask God's forgiveness if I have fallen short in any work that would bring them to... the peasants." He calls out to the Indians, saying: "Alas! Today you have not known me, nor have you understood what my conscience contains of the will to do good to you." This is the skilful priest in his preaching (and in hypocrisy, he surpasses Abdullah ibn Ubayy ibn Salul, the chief of the hypocrites in Islam).

The English government knew his worth in his skill and his knowledge of the aspects of deceit, his understanding of the Easterners' imagination, and his wide knowledge of how to manipulate their minds and desires, and the ways to take them without their realising it. His government acknowledged his sincerity in opposing the Muslims. For this reason, it decided to send him to Egypt, and resolved to send him as its delegate, to do as he pleases. But we do not think that his deceptive snares will overcome the intelligence of the Egyptians and capture their minds. If he succeeds, and the Egyptians accept for themselves the shame of humiliation and the stain of disgrace, it will only be by using Tawfiq Pasha as a tool in all his actions. He would use him to bring Egypt into the possession of the English government; he would teach him the sublime orders, and inspire him with the high decrees, to humble the people of his country,

to drive the Egyptians to kill their brothers, to... the green crops, and to establish authority there for the English government. If he succeeds in what he wants—calming the seditions and bringing the Egyptians closer to accepting a government that their natures abhor—he would then proceed to depose Tawfiq Pasha on any pretext, and to demand the succession of his son Abbas, as a young child who has not reached maturity.

He would rely on the sultanic firmans (which they respect when they suit their purposes), and make Nubar Pasha a Diwan for him (the Diwan is a minister appointed by the English on their behalf in the kingdoms that remain in India, under the names of the princes who are not known to be mature, and who cannot be dismissed except by order of the English government). Then he would give him a small share of the sultanic authority, and... he would send him to... and he is a man who is neither Muslim, to be zealous for his religion, nor Egyptian, to defend his homeland, nor Arab, to have racial pride. By this path, he would gain authority in Egypt for a period not less than the rest of his life, and he would be safe from dismissal, under the shadow of the English government.

These are his purposes, which we have learned from a reliable source. We do not think he will succeed in them, for the reform of Egypt cannot be carried out except by one who is more knowledgeable about the condition of the Egyptians and closer to them than Lord Northbrook. This Lord follows in his course what he did in India. We will mention a sample of his actions as a lesson for those who take heed. Jit Singh was the Raja of the kingdoms of... located on the side

of... from the side of the Himalayas. When this king died, his son Sur Singh succeeded him, being his son from the queen. Then Sur Singh died, and his brother Sujit Singh succeeded him, according to the law of the polytheists. When Lord Northbrook went as governor to India, he intended to apply his judgment in that kingdom and to take possession of its lands, according to the usual practice among his like from the men of his government. He asked Sujit Singh to abdicate in favour of his brother Koyal Singh, who was the son of a concubine, and in the laws of the polytheists, the sons of slave women are not allowed to succeed to the kingdom as long as the sons of free women are alive.

When Sujit Singh refused to abdicate, relying on the law of his religion, Lord Northbrook deposed him by force, after he had beaten his wife, who was the queen of that land (for she was the king's wife), and plundered all that was in the king's house of treasures, antiques, precious jewels, and ancient relics (antiques) that had been inherited by the kings for long generations (for the king's family was among the ancient royal families). He then appointed Koyal Singh in his place. After a short time, he deposed Koyal Singh and appointed his young son, Siyam Singh, so that authority, in reality and meaning, would be in the hands of the English princes and under the control of the Diwan they had established on their behalf! This is an example of the actions of Lord Northbrook in India, which would take long to enumerate. Then the deposed Sujit Singh thought that Northbrook alone was the oppressor, and that if he raised his case to the supreme government in London, he would find justice and fairness there. So he came, six years ago, and presented his case to the government. But the hearts were alike, the souls were in agreement, and the opinions were united in stripping rights and exceeding in oppression. During this time, he

spent all he had in lawsuits and applications, until he was left with neither a home nor a kingdom.

This unfortunate king, despite his high status and the elevation of his royal lineage to his ancient ancestors, over about a thousand years, you now see him starving in the lands of Europe, in ragged clothes, contemptible, and humiliated. This is the one whom Lord Northbrook respected, and whom the English government wants to throw into Egypt! And this is the reform he intends to carry out there! But our hope is in the Muslims, our trust is in the Egyptians, and our faith in God's promises and the truth of the prophecy regarding what the Egyptian events contain, the alliance of the states to oppose the English government, and the necessity for the Ottoman state to defend its honour, will frustrate the schemes of this deceiver and thwart the plans of the traitors.

News Section — Chapter 88: A Subtle Point

When Sheikh Muhammad 'Abduh was conversing with the politicians in London, most of them would say to him: "We have often heard news about Egypt from foreigners who belong to the Egyptian lands, but we do not place it in the position of consideration, because we know of their distance from the true Egyptian people. As for you,

being deeply rooted in Egyptianness and a scholar of the Muslim scholars, we would like you to explain your thoughts, and what you know of the conditions of the Egyptian people, the conditions of their princes, and their capabilities, what suits them, and what is fitting for them. We see this from you as a narrator of the truth of their affairs, and as a revealer of the thoughts of the people of Egypt in general." The Pall Mall Gazette has hinted at this idea.

News Section — Chapter 89: The Opposition of the English

The thoughts of the European states have been awakened in these days to what affects them of the English going to excess in their greed. Their success in their Eastern enterprises has nearly extinguished the breath of Europe and closed the doors of trade to it. If the English succeed in their march towards what they aspire to, there would be no foothold left for European trade, and poverty would strike most of the regions of Europe, whose livelihood is based on trade. The states would then be unable to meet their needs. This is a fear whose beginning has touched the souls of the states, by the cry of nature, and it has been increased by what has scratched their feelings of the successive insults inflicted upon them by the arrogance of the English.

England is the state that left the states to be humiliated in Istanbul, and took it upon itself to bombard the city of Alexandria. This is the state that called the great states to a conference to deliberate on the matter of Egypt, acknowledging their rights in it. When the states did not answer its false request, it dismissed their representatives, and went about its business, disregarding them, and resolved to send Lord Northbrook and General Wolseley at the same time to Egypt. All this stirred the feelings of the states, and they hastened to hold a meeting in...

in the month of September, as the newspapers reported, confirming that the subject of their deliberation was this important matter. For this reason, the city of ... became a centre of political discussion. There, Prince Bismarck found a wide field for politics. Count Kalnoky met with Prince Bismarck, and the meeting was long. They were joined by Monsieur de Giers, the Russian Minister of State. The discussion was about what had befallen the states after the London Conference. This was followed by the travel of Monsieur Courcel, the French ambassador in Berlin, to ... to meet Bismarck (even if some English newspapers interpreted this ambassador's movement as having another purpose). These successive visits from the... states, after the... and... indicate that great matters are afoot, which time will soon reveal. This is in addition to the new measure taken by the German state, which appointed a minister in a distinguished embassy to the Shah of Iran, and in the members of his embassy was Brookesh Pasha, famous for his knowledge of ancient Egyptian script. This was the first time this state had an ambassador to the Shah. Then there was the mission of Mirza Khan as a special ambassador from the Persian state to the Russian state, and his receiving the utmost honour and respect. All of

this indicates to us that in the unseen is a great calamity that will befall the English state.

Enmities have taken hold of the hearts of the European nations, and their innermost beings have been filled with rage until they have overflowed. For this reason, you see no German, Austrian, French, or Russian newspaper that is not filled with attacks, condemnation, threats, intimidation, and warnings of the evil end of the English government. It is not far from God's justice that He should overturn the banners of the arrogant, who corrupt the earth, plunder the kingdoms of the world by guile, violate the rights of nations with tyranny and aggression, and impose upon them the torment of slavery and bondage, with insolence and pride. The sky of politics has darkened over the paths of the English, and the predator of woe has roared at them from every side. In these terrors, they move like a blind man stumbling, either to cover their weakness, or to delude themselves with their power. They cling to the ropes of means to possess Egypt and Sudan. Lord Northbrook and Sami' Allah Khan the Atheist are going to Egypt to win hearts and to make all thoughts loyal to the English government. And Wolseley, after having gained a good reputation by spending money at Tel al-Kebir, resolved to achieve another conquest by similar means. But we do not think that in Sudan there is anything like the witness of treason and Abu Sultan Pasha's defiance.

On the other hand, they are trying to force the Egyptian government to declare bankruptcy and to proclaim its inability to meet the government's expenses, so that they may find in that a way to establish their protection over Egypt, to reduce the interest on the debt, and to tyrannise over the affairs of the kingdom. In the Egyptian war, they obtained from the Ottoman state a sultanic firman declaring 'Urabi a

rebel, by which they saved the lives of their men and preserved much of their wealth. Today, Lord Dufferin is trying, with his cunning promises and false oaths to the Sublime Porte, to persuade it to send ten ironclads to Alexandria, and to send an army to the Red Sea coasts. This would be the equivalent of the firman declaring Muhammad Ahmad a rebel, and the English would gain authority over Egypt and Sudan. They swear—and they are the liars—that they will not touch the rights of the Sultan (have they left any rights to be touched?). When their feet are firmly established under the shadow of the Ottoman flag, they will turn their backs on the Ottomans, and answer them with bows of the head and the gnashing of teeth. We do not think that the Ottoman state will be deceived by the promises of the English a second time. The believer is not stung from the same hole twice.

It has tasted the sweetness of their promise, and in its breach, it has tasted the bitterness of humiliation and the grief of contempt. Yes, this is a time in which the Ottoman state can agree with the other states to protect its interests. It would not cross the mind of an Ottoman that any good could come from an agreement with the English. The British government has never concluded a treaty without breaking it, after it had reaped its fruit. Its profit from treaties is exclusively its own; it shares it with no one. It is not hidden from the Ottoman state that the English have acted in the Egyptian lands as owners, without its consultation. They have granted a great part of the eastern Sudan to Abyssinia, and have incited a crusade between the Abyssinians and the Muslims of Sudan. They have set out to seize Zeila, Harar, and Berber. Was any of this done with the permission of the Sublime Porte? So how can the state trust England, after it has experienced its treachery and seen its aggression? If the state is lenient with the

English in the matter of Egypt, we will soon hear of matters in the Hejaz, Syria, Yemen, and Baghdad, all of which will be the intrigues of the English.

But if the Ottomans advance with firm resolve and attend to their affairs in Egypt, with the excitement of the Afghans and England's isolation from the other states, they will find for them supporters from all the Muslims in the East, and from the Egyptians and the Sudanese. They will force the English to retreat, and they will recover what they have lost of their status since the Russian war, and they will restore their former glory. Thus, the Ottoman army should be led to strike the English, not to serve them. If the Ottoman state does not do this, then let the world perish and let Islam be farewell! Let the Egyptians, the peasants, and the Arabs know that the English intend only to enslave them and to use them as slaves are used. The first yoke of humiliation will be placed on the necks of their princes. So they must not be a tool in enabling the enemy to control their necks, nor should some of them be a trap to catch the rest. By God, we are amazed at those who preserve the fortresses in Sudan, and the Egyptians who... are they a nation that is being toyed with? Yes, the garrison of Kassala preserved it until it handed it over to Abyssinia. And the guardians of the fortresses in Sudan preserve them until they hand them over to the English commanders, if they can.

Yes, we would have liked to see this magnanimity from the Egyptian troops, but if they are not under the control of a foreign state, then today their firmness is the very essence of shame. By God, I do not think that a person with an atom of faith in his heart would allow himself to do this work. If they do not strive to expel their enemy from their lands—and we think they will strive—then at least they should refrain from helping him to possess it. Do the Egyptians not know that

a light movement from them in opposition to the English at this time would bring about the intervention of the states, and would be a cause for their deliverance from this enemy, who is not content with eating their flesh until he has...? So let them remain, and let them rely on God, and let them... the opportunity for... is for those who are patient.

News Section — Chapter 90

The English entered the land of India and played with the minds of its princes and kings in a way that makes the wise laugh and weep. They penetrated deep into the entrails of India and snatched its lands piece by piece. Whenever they dominated a region, they would boast to its inhabitants and show weariness and boredom from staying among them, saying: The English are only concerned with commercial affairs. As for the conduct of administration and politics, that is not their concern. They are only called upon to bear its burdens out of compassion for the kings and princes who are incapable of governing their kingdoms. When the prince or king is able to control his country, no Englishman will remain in it, for they have other important affairs, which they have left only out of pure mercy. And they would say to every owner of a kingdom: Work is difficult for the mind and the body, so it is better for the owner of the kingdom to rest and to die

poor and humiliated, to escape the trouble of management! They proclaim that whenever the opportunity arises and the time comes when worldly and hostile affairs have no effect on bodies or minds, they are ready to leave the country (on the Day of Judgment). Today, they say the same exact words in Egypt!

When they were firmly established in India and had cast their staff, and the traces of the Timurid Sultanate were erased, they looked at the country a second time and found in it fifty million Muslims, each one of them with a wounded heart at the loss of their great kingdom. They were connected to many millions of Muslims, East, West, North, and South. They felt that as long as the Muslims remained on their religion, and as long as the Qur'an was recited among them, it was impossible for them to be sincere in submission to a foreign authority, especially if that foreigner had snatched the kingdom from them by deception and cunning, under the guise of love and friendship. So they began to strive by every means to weaken the Islamic belief. They loaded the priests and spiritual leaders with the writing of books and the spreading of letters, filled with attacks on the Islamic religion, laden with cursing and insult, with quick... they had... So that from this abominable work... natures abhor it, and it is impossible for a person of zeal to live in a land where such books are published, and to dwell under a sky whose sun shines upon the perpetrators of such great slander. Their purpose in all this was to weaken the beliefs of the Muslims, and to make them adopt the English doctrine. This was on one side.

On the other side, they began to narrow the means of livelihood for the Muslims, to intensify the burden upon them, and to harm them in every way. They tied their hands in public works, plundered the endowments of mosques and schools, and exiled their scholars and

great men to the Andaman and Pepper Islands, hoping that this means, if the first did not succeed, would benefit them in turning the Muslims away from their religion, by casting them into the depths of ignorance about their beliefs, until they forgot what God had obligated upon them. When the hope of those unjust rulers failed in the first means, and the time was long for them to benefit from the second, they resorted to another device to remove the Islamic religion from the land of India, or to weaken it. For they fear none but the Muslims, the owners of that plundered kingdom and that usurped right. It happened that a man named Ahmad Khan Bahadur (a title of honour in India) was hovering around the English to gain some benefit from them. He offered himself to them and took a few steps to renounce his religion and to adopt the English doctrine. He began his course by writing a book proving that the Torah and the Gospel were not corrupted nor altered, to gain favour with them.

Then he reconsidered and saw that the English would not be satisfied with him until he said: I am a Christian. He realised that this contemptible act would not bring him a great reward, especially since he had come when the priests and patriarchs had not been able to convert more than a few individuals from among the Muslims. So he took another path in serving his English rulers: by dividing the word of the Muslims and scattering their community. He appeared in the guise of a materialist, proclaiming that there is no existence except for blind nature, and that this universe has no wise creator ("This is nothing but clear misguidance"), and that all the prophets were naturalists who did not believe in the God brought by the laws of religion (we seek refuge in God). He called himself a "Nijari" (materialist), to... the pleasures of the soul from the constraints of the noble Sharia, and striving after bestial desires. This pleased his

English rulers, and they saw in him a good means of corrupting the hearts of the Muslims. So they began to strengthen and honour him, and helped him to build a school in Aligarh, naming it the Muhammadan School, so that they could use it to catch the sons of the believers and to raise them on the ideas of this man (Ahmad Khan Bahadur).

Ahmad Khan wrote a commentary on the Qur'an, distorting words from their proper places and altering what God had revealed. He established a newspaper called Tahdhib al-Akhlaq (The Education of Morals), in which he published nothing but what would mislead the minds of Muslims, sow discord among them, and create enmity between the Muslims of India and others, especially between them and the Ottomans. He openly called for the abandonment of all religions (but he only calls for the abandonment of Islam), and shouted: "Nature! Nature!" to whisper to people that Europe only advanced in civilisation, rose in science and industry, and surpassed in power and might, by rejecting religions, and by returning to the intended purpose of every religion (according to his claim, which is to explain the paths of nature—he has invented lies against God). When we learned that some of the weak-minded had been deceived by the words of this man and his disciples, we wrote a letter explaining their corrupt doctrine and the evils that arise from it, and we proved that religion is the foundation of civilisation and the pillar of prosperity. We printed our letter in the Indian and Persian languages. Ahmad Khan and his followers have cast off the garment of religion and openly called for its abandonment, seeking to seduce the Muslims and to divide their word.

They have added to their falsehood by sowing discord between the people of India and the Muslims... and they have spared no effort in

opposing the Islamic Caliphate. These materialists are not like the materialists in Europe. The one who abandons religion in the Western lands still has a love for his homeland, and his zeal for protecting his country from the raids of foreigners is not diminished. He spends his precious wealth in its progress and defence, and sacrifices his life for its interests. As for Ahmad Khan and his companions, just as they call people to abandon religion, they frighten them with the interests of their homelands, and make it easy for them to accept foreign domination. They strive to erase the effects of religious and national zeal, and they search for national interests that the English might have overlooked, to alert the government to them, so that it may not leave them. They do this not for a great reward, nor for a high honour, but for a mean life and a paltry profit... (Thus they prolong the life of evil by protecting and guarding it). The English only gave one of them a position for his son, Maulawi Mahmud, as a member of a council in a village in India, no larger than Shubrakhit in the province of Beheira. Among his traps for catching the weak among the Muslims is that he promises them that if they follow him, he will bring them into government service, by virtue of his influence with the unjust English. The English government has appointed only four of his followers to village councils, and there is no Indian national in such positions except them. This is the glory that Ahmad Khan has achieved, as the price of his religion and his homeland. He is, as his friend Nawab Hassan Khan, the King of Bahawalpur, the author of famous works, said: "Ahmad Khan is the Dajjal of the end of time." Yes, the English rulers helped him to employ some of those he presented to them, but not in the English Indian government, nor from the English treasury. Rather, they oblige one of the Nawabs, who remain in a semblance of independence, to appoint them to some lowly positions. This method

pleased the English rulers, and they rejoiced in it. They thought it would lead to their goal of erasing the Islamic religion from the Indian lands. These materialists have become an army for the English government in India, handing over their swords to cut the necks of the Muslims, but with weeping over them and shouting at them: "We do not kill you except out of compassion for you, mercy on you, and a desire for your reform and the comfort of your livelihood."
The English saw that this was one of the best means to achieve the purpose of weakening Islam and the Muslims.

The most accomplished disciple of Ahmad Khan, and his chief minister and director in all his affairs, is a man named Sami' Allah Khan. Sami' Allah Khan is the greatest of the materialists in cunning, the most zealous in misleading the Muslims, the most subtle in trickery, and the strongest in deception in finding ways to divide the community of the believers and to enable the English government in the land of India. This deceiver stands up as a preacher in the assemblies of the Muslims, and his tears precede his words. He brings all his eloquence to demolish the pillars of the Islamic religion and to nullify its original doctrines. He dares to speak against the Divine Presence, and to attack the Prophethood and its owner. All of this while he sobs and laments over religion and its people. When he enters a country to perform this service, he spends days frequenting the mosques and attending religious gatherings, entrancing people with his sweet words and gentle promises, drawing them to him from where they do not realise. When a good number of people gather

around him, deceived by the sweetness of his outward appearance, he begins to call them to his bitter doctrine (the abandonment of religion). This manifest enemy of Islam and the Muslims has, by his efforts, obtained the position of judge (in the English Sharia) in the town of Agra, a town no larger than Desouk in the province of Gharbiyya. The Times said, after praising Sami' Allah Khan with all that is praiseworthy: "This position (a judge in a small town) is the highest position an Indian national can attain." (Is a witness greater than this needed to prove English justice?) Lord Northbrook, the Englishman whose history we have mentioned in part in the previous issue, knew Sami' Allah Khan well when he was the governor of India. He knew him to be the most truthful person in serving the English and the most capable of doing so. For this reason, he summoned him to be his confidant in Egypt, to use him in alienating the Egyptians from the Ottoman state, and in convincing the Egyptians that the English government wishes them well, and to use him in winning the hearts of the scholars, because he is one of them (by his claim). It may be his intention to enter the mosques, to preach, to give sermons, and to narrate about the justice of the English what has no truth and what observation denies.

But our hope is in the discernment of the Egyptians, the truth of their religious beliefs, and the strength of their connection to the Ottoman state—that they will not be deceived by this Indian "Rakshas" (in the Sanskrit language, the "Rakshas" is the rebellious demon). May God not grant him success in any purpose, nor grant him what he seeks.

News Section — Chapter 91

The anger of Nubar Pasha intensified against the newspaper Al-Ahram, so he issued an order to suspend it for a month and to close its printing press. The reason given was that it had published letters from the newspaper's director while he was in London, which contained some criticisms of English policy, contrary to the wish of his Excellency the Pasha! It was also said that the reason was... the thanks offered by... some of the notables of... the newspaper's editor... (disapproval of English policy). But we were told from a private source that these public matters do not concern Nubar Pasha except when they touch his own private interest. The real reason was the straight path that Al-Ahram followed. It called for the mention of some national men, such as Riyad Pasha and Sharif Pasha, describing them as patriotic, of high ambition, and of complete zeal. Nubar Pasha is striving for an important purpose, which we mentioned in the previous issue and which was later published by the Débats and the English newspapers: that the guardian of the minor "Abbas" should be appointed after his father's deposition, so that he might gain a share of authority and freedom of command and prohibition. He knew that this was a time of opportunity for the English government's eagerness to possess Egypt, and that it was in need of everyone who has no homeland and no... in Egypt.

It is in dire need of Nubar Pasha. Tawfiq Pasha is a hollow dome, from which nothing echoes back but the sound of voices. If you say "No," it is no; or if you say "Yes," it is yes. In his anger and his pleasure, he follows what is thrown to him. Nubar Pasha knew that a Khedive like this could be a means to enable the English to take control of Egypt, without him realising it. By offering this service to them, he would build for himself a lofty palace of honour. So how could it please Nubar Pasha, with this striving, to hear the mention of Riyad Pasha and Sharif Pasha, with the descriptions of patriotism and high ambition? Perhaps the frequent mention of these men would stir the patriotic feelings, and a flood would pour forth from them, destroying all that he is building. The owner of Al-Ahram frequently mentioned the homeland and the patriots, and Nubar Pasha is far from them. For this reason, he was angered by their mention. Every time the word "homeland," "nation," "race," or "people" was mentioned, whether in a general statement or about a specific person, Nubar Pasha considered it a mockery of him and a jest at his expense. There is no wonder in Nubar Pasha if he thought what he thought or did what he did. The man is neither Egyptian, nor Arab, nor Muslim.

So if he sells Egypt for the cheapest price, he is the winner; he loses no creed, no homeland, and no race. It was said that Nubar Pasha is seeking to expel Zubair Pasha from Egypt. If he achieves his demand, it would not be far-fetched that he would seek for Sharif Pasha, Riyad Pasha, and every man of magnanimity or thought in Egypt, what he sought for Zubair. The Nubar government would become an Indian government. Is such a thing far-fetched from one who seeks to depose the Khedive? What confirms what we have been told about the reason for suspending Al-Ahram is that Nubar Pasha was not moved to prevent Al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqa from entering Egypt except when Riyad

Pasha was mentioned in it, along with some of his qualities. Otherwise, if the reason was the mention of Islam and the Muslims in it, that would foretell the closure of Al-Azhar and the order of Nubar Pasha.

Is there not, among the notables of the Egyptian people—from the Egyptians, the Turks, the Hejazis, and the Yemenis—a young man who would roll up his sleeves, step forward with his chest, and take a step towards this Armenian minister, to nullify this deal, to break this allegiance, and to reveal to him and to the deluded ones like him the reality of patriotism, and to lift the veil from the duties of the creed? There is no power nor might except with God. Those infatuated with the love of life spend it, out of fear of humiliation, in humiliation; they live, out of fear of servitude, in servitude; they drink the bitterness of the pangs of death in every moment, out of fear of death. Neither religion drives them to seek the pleasure of God, nor does national zeal push them to what brings pride to the sons of humanity!

News Section — Chapter 92: Lahore

A letter came to us from Lahore, in the Indian language (and we hope that future correspondence will be in Persian). We saw fit to publish its summary. The writer said: "We hear the owner of the Lahore newspaper Akhbar-i 'Am calling from the bottom of his heart for... and he says that the purpose of Al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqa is to break the bond of union between the Indian subjects and their English rulers. He is not ashamed to say that our English rulers are the ones who have adorned India by reforming its roads, building its railways, and laying its telegraph lines, as if the English were from the lineage of Bakr... or from the race of the Jats, or from the descendants of Akbar Shah of India! If a listener hears the voice of this newspaper from afar, he might think that these works, with which they have adorned India—according to the newspaper's opinion—were only undertaken by the English for the benefit of the Indians. He would imagine that the English are... and that seeking to free themselves from their authority is a kind of ingratitude. How astonishing is this Pandit of Lahore!

He sees the poverty and misery of the sons of his country, and he witnesses with his own eyes that they cannot find enough to sustain their lives, and that the happiest of them is he who earns ten rupees a month, after reaching a high degree of perfection—including the owner of the newspaper himself. So how can he prolong his tongue in thanking this government, and place on the backs of the Indians a heavy burden of gratitude for building railways and telegraph lines? If the English government ruled India with justice, where has the wealth of its people gone, with the fertility of the land and the abundance of produce? For what reason have the people become so poor that they cannot find food? The English newspapers in India warn their government that if the Indian administration continues in this way,

there will be a great revolution, whose cause will be hunger. If the English government built railways to transport its goods, to supply its armies, and to carry the produce of the people... is it still now... and they buy, so that they may benefit from the ease of its transport? For what reason should the Indians be grateful? And if they laid telegraph lines to survey what is happening in their kingdoms and to facilitate communication between their men, what benefit is there in this that would oblige the Indians to be grateful?

The English men, when they entered the country as merchants and were submissive to the small and the great for over a century, have now reached the point where they do not consider the Indians to be of the human species. When the English want to gather the notables of the country to oblige them to pay a new tax, they prepare a high place, rising about three cubits from the ground, on which the chairs of the English masters are placed, and the Indians sit on a low place, to show distinction—while they have only gathered them to strip what remains of their skins and to suck the last of their blood. What nation, whether savage or civilised, treats another nation with such treatment? I swear by God that the Indian race (the Brahmins), when they came from Iran and conquered India, did not treat the ancient inhabitants with such treatment, even though they considered themselves celestial. They did not humiliate the "Parya" race to such a degree, even though they claimed to be the sons of the gods. They accepted the "Telinga" race into their ranks and shared their rights with them, even though they were conquered by them. The Muslims conquered the land of India and treated the polytheists as they treated the people of their own creed, and they did not deprive them of high positions.

Every Muslim Sultan who ruled in India had polytheist workers and ministers. The Muslims walked with the polytheists as brothers, until

the English sowed discord between them in Punjab and the outskirts of Madras. The English claim that the Muslims are religiously fanatical, which makes them deviate from justice. But we see to this day in India small governments ruled by Rajas and Nawabs from the Sunnis and the Shi'as. We see the polytheist Raja having a Muslim minister and Muslim officials, and the Muslim Nawab having a polytheist minister and officials. Similarly, the Sunnis with the Shi'as and the Shi'as with the Sunnis. Yet we do not see, among the millions ruled by the English, a single Indian in any high position. This Pandit (the owner of Akhbar-i 'Am) is not ashamed to say that the English are our rulers. What ruler seeks the honour of his subjects and considers them as cattle? When Lord Ripon became the governor of India, and saw that Russia had reached Merv, and sensed the Indians' aversion to the English government and their readiness for revolution, he wanted to please their hearts with a contemptible matter that the fool would mock... he appointed two people, who had studied English law in England, to the position of judges in a small town.

Look at how the heart of a great nation, with wounded hearts and fallen into the pit of poverty, is pleased with such a small and despised attention! What would be the position of the Indians in his view, if he thinks that the great nations, burned by the fires of oppression for ages, would acknowledge the justice of the English for merely appointing two people to a small position? The English complained about the Lord's conduct in India, and raised their complaints to London, saying: How can a "Kala"—i.e., a black Indian—sit on the judge's bench? Perhaps a case might be brought before him against an Englishman, and he would issue a judgment against him! The English do not allow their souls to acknowledge the humanity of the Indian, even out of necessity. Does the Pandit of Lahore want to cast the veil

of deception over his eyes and the eyes of his brothers, and to utter lies, saying that there is a kind of harmony between the Indians and their government? And would such a government be harmonious with anyone of spirit? The Pandit says in his newspaper, while criticising Al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqa, that the lineage of the princes and the sons of the Timurid family (the kings of India) are naked in the markets, starving, and find no shelter to which they can resort.

If this is the condition of the princes, by his own admission, then what must be the condition of others? How could his soul allow him to utter a word that suggests contentment with the English government? He flatters the rulers, but I do not think he gains from his flattery more than ten rupees a month. So he has no reason to tire his tongue and exhaust himself for nothing. The Pandit does not deny that when the English address an Indian, they do not speak to him except with a stick. And if an Englishman attacks an Indian and kills him, the English doctors rule that the victim died of chronic tuberculosis, liver disease, or a disease he inherited from his fathers, so that an Englishman cannot be executed for the blood of an Indian—so the Indian's blood is shed in vain. The injustice and tyranny of the English is clear to every reader of that small paper, Akhbar-i 'Am. I say, in the name of every Indian—polytheist or Muslim, Sunni or Shi'a—that the Pandit cannot, with this paper of his, heal the wounds of the Indians, nor extinguish the fire in their hearts, from what they see every day of the plunder of property, the humiliation of religions, the wasting of rights, and the deprivation of the people from serving their homelands. It is not in the power of his pen to raise anything from reality, nor to create a thought of love for the English in the heart of an Indian, except one whose conscience is ruined and who has strayed from the covenants of his religion and his homeland. The Pandit knows this, but

he strives, hoping to gain a small thing and to content himself with a little of it. The aspirations of many Easterners have become like the crop of a sparrow, filled with two grains of wheat! We will write to you about the details of the English actions among us, God willing."

News Section — Chapter 93: The English and the States

Why is the Egyptian government heedless of its own affairs? What does it seek from its silence and its inclination with the wind of the English government? Is it possible that the Egyptian government thinks that its submission to Britain's orders and its concern for serving its troops advancing to Sudan would oblige the English to be ashamed, so that they would not deny the grace of friendship, and would respect the precedence of service, leaving Egypt pure and comfortable, with a clear conscience, and entrusting the command to the Egyptian government, and strengthening the Khedivate for Tawfiq Pasha? If this delusion crossed the minds of the rulers in Egypt, they have lost their minds. Such a thought does not stir in the mind except one who is afflicted with madness. It does not cross the mind of the British government that it has invented reasons for itself to enter the Nile Valley, and has created pretexts for it. Its aim in all its actions is to have a distinct authority there, whether Tawfiq Pasha is supported

or overthrown. Its men did not feel that the discussion of the conference might lead to what would touch this goal, so they evaded it, and took control of their actions, and took it upon themselves to calm the storm of the Sudanese revolution.

If they achieve what they want, and they take control of the work in Sudan, can it be hoped that they will evacuate Egypt, after they have conquered what lies behind it? This is nothing but a false delusion. Has England recklessly rushed, and enraged all the great states, and prepared for itself a danger that would be... in Tawfiq Pasha and a desire to preserve his seat? This is inconceivable. Perhaps the Ottoman state and the Egyptian government hope that the European states, stirred by anger, will advance with their forces against England, and will restrain it in its policy, and force it to evacuate Egypt, leaving it to its people, and God will suffice the believers in fighting. If this is the cause of the lethargy, it is a trust misplaced, and a kind of strange greed. It is possible that the agreement of the states to oppose the English may be connected to other directions, and the evacuation of Egypt may not be among the subjects of the agreement—as many newspapers have pointed out, mentioning that among the purposes for which the three Caesars met were to prevent Russia's ambitions in Europe and to give it a free hand in Asia and the Indian regions.

Is it not possible that the opposition of the states to the English might end with the seizure of some parts of the lands of the Muslims, in return for the English being allowed in other lands? Some important newspapers have hinted at something of this, and have declared what the tongue does not dare to speak. The states have an interest in harming the English. Among the greatest motives for the meeting of the Caesars is England's exceeding its limits in monopolising profit over others. But is it not the duty of the owner of the house to begin by

defending his house before his neighbours help him? Especially if the neighbours have various ambitions, some of which prevent help, and some of which lead to delay and postponement of action. What do we know? If we turn the matter over to the neighbour to rescue the plundered from the hand of the plunderer, perhaps after its recovery, he will take it for himself. So what would we gain from the fruits of his efforts, and what benefit would we obtain? If the Egyptian government were stingy with its life, and saw that its survival lay in its refusal, and it refrained from this cold submission, and refrained from facilitating and paving the way for the English troops to march, the Ottoman state would have joined it in the...

and the states would have found a strong argument to oppose England. The states would not have remained content with drafting memoranda and publishing arguments, relying on their ambassadors, who have no real involvement except in their pleasures and desires. If all this had happened, the Ottoman state, along with the Egyptian government, would have joined the other states in opposing England. Since the Ottoman state and the Egyptian government have the primary right and the legal ownership of those lands, what they do would bring them the deliverance of the country, and no state would have the right, after that, to monopolise it over them. The state's boldness in action and the Egyptian government's abandonment of its harmful course would shorten the distance, reduce the time, and strengthen the states' argument in hunting England. If the Ottoman state is lenient and the Egyptian government is content with its constricting situation, how can the two governments hope to be freed from the pursuit of the states? Assuming Egypt were liberated from the hands of the English, what would drive the states to fight a great state like Britain, to strip it

of a great kingdom, and then to hand it over to the Ottoman state or the Egyptian government?

We do not hesitate to say that the Ottoman state and the Egyptian government are caught between two great dangers: if the English succeed in Sudan, Egypt will be lost, and the authority of the English government will be established there, whether the states oppose it or not. The loss of Egypt is the loss of all—as we have repeatedly pointed out, and as the position of Egypt among the rest of the Muslim lands testifies. And if the English fail in fighting the rebels, it is not hidden from any sane mind what would result from this failure, and what would arise from the victory of Muhammad Ahmad and his followers, and the defeat of the English troops. This second matter might be a cause for foreign interventions in all our regions. It is not difficult for the Ottoman state nor for the Egyptian government to show some firmness, to take a side with strength, and to stand firmly. England is in a state of confusion with the states, and is entangled with Sudan, and the Muslims from all regions are in intense agitation. If they rise up, it would be easy for them to... and to recover what is lost, and to open the doors of... and the Ottoman state would gain a place of strength, and the hearts of the Muslims would be with it, and their hopes would be renewed.

Our newspaper has followed the path of truth in explaining the condition of the English with the Ottoman state, and has established—with insight and complete knowledge—that the English fear the opposition of the state and dread its evil consequences. Our newspaper has been calling for this since the day of its publication. We have shown that the state has a moral authority in India that the English government has not been able to reach, despite its efforts. This is the truth of the matter. Yet we do not know the secret of this soft

policy, whose effect we see only in papers and under the tips of pens. The English are fighting and taking possession, and their feet are becoming firmer day by day. Their arrogance has driven them to extend their hands to the Egyptian endowments, seeking to control them and to manage them. We repeat the matter once again, and we say: All the Muslims in the Indian regions and their surroundings are standing on their feet, ready to pounce on their enemies and the usurpers of their rights. A firm stance from the Ottoman state would show a great effect, forcing the English government to leave Egypt. The state must not miss this opportunity. Such an opportunity rarely comes. The states are allied against the English, Russia is overlooking India, the Indians are in a state of agitation, and the crisis in Sudan is not insignificant.

If the state does not take its right from the English at this time, then when?

News Section — Chapter 94: Tawfiq Pasha's Glorification of Lord Northbrook!

News came from Cairo of Lord Northbrook's arrival, and a formal meeting took place between him and Tawfiq Pasha. He presented to him a letter from Lord Granville, authorising him as "Northbrook" to

be the agent of the English government in Egypt, and asking the Egyptian government to help him solve the current problems, especially the financial ones. Tawfiq Pasha expressed his happiness at his appointment to this position, and assured him of his sincere affection and complete satisfaction with all his demands. It appears that Tawfiq Pasha was delighted with Lord Northbrook's arrival, even though he had no personal acquaintance with him, nor any prior knowledge of his affairs or of what he intends to do in his country. This is possible. But would that I knew: what does this young Khedive gain by pleasing this deceiver? What will he receive from the arrows of his cunning? The past events have taught us a part of Lord Northbrook and a portion of his actions in India. We will now mention another action of his. When he was the governor of India, he wanted to establish English authority in the kingdom of Kapurthala, a vast kingdom adjacent to Lahore and Patiala. He claimed that its Maharaja (king) was insane, while he was in the full possession of his reason and the soundness of his constitution.

He deposed him on this pretext and imprisoned him in Bexar, where he died a natural death, or as it is said, by poison. This deposed king was the son of Randhir Singh. He appointed in his place a young child from the family, with the support of the English government. The English government had left to some of the deposed Rajahs small forests, remnants of their properties, for hunting. These poor wretches would console themselves for the loss of their kingdoms by spending some time in them. When Lord Northbrook became governor in India, he saw them as too much for them, so he took them away and deprived them of this small benefit. This is the Lord who summoned Sami' Allah Khan the Materialist to be his assistant in Egypt, to satisfy the Egyptians with the English government. He is the one who gave

large sums to the teacher "Palmer" to distribute among the Arabs, to incite them to revolt in the lands of the Ottoman state during the Egyptian war—as we were informed by a reliable source from London. But the Arabs killed this messenger of his, and people were hanged in Egypt without crime. This is the Lord whose arrival Tawfiq Pasha rejoices in! May God protect the sacred Egyptian lands from the evil of this impostor, and from the evil of his companion, Sami' Allah Khan the Materialist.

News Section — Chapter 95: France and Germany

The Nouvelle Presse Libre asserted that the motive for Baron Courcel's (the French ambassador in Berlin) trip to ... was the most important political event. In its opinion, the conversation between him and Prince Bismarck moved on to the subject of the Chinese war and the Congo question. The newspaper said: "Bismarck has changed his direction... which he had taken since 1880... he was intending to use it to intimidate France from other states. Today, he has turned his resolve to intimidating England." When the three emperors met in... in 1884, the thoughts of the French were troubled, and each of them wondered: Is an agreement between the emperors to oppose the republic expected? But if they meet this year, no French heart will be touched

by doubt. Indeed, the souls will be calm and at ease. There is nothing in any European state that would cause any concern in Paris, in any way. On the contrary, there is what would establish tranquillity. For it is the intention of Prince Bismarck, in ..., to bring France closer to the other land states. The visit of Baron Courcel to the Prince is considered the greatest proof of what we say.

News Section — Chapter 96: The Cunning of the English in Egypt

The English sent their ships to the port of Alexandria in the year 1881, without any reason, or with the intention of stirring the still feelings. Then they fired their cannons on that port. Their first and second actions were the cause of great losses, which afflicted the inhabitants of the country. Then the guarantee was upon them. This was either due to the bad luck of the Egyptians, or the weakness of the government, or its violation of the law. There is no doubt that the Egyptian government's treasury is unable to pay this heavy fine, which is, in reality, a punishment without a crime. Nevertheless, the victims have the right to claim their losses, and they have no blame for negligence in this. So a problem arose, and the English government, like a skilled fisherman, does not seek fish except when the water is murky! It saw

an opportunity to catch a fish, or to take another step towards its goal in Egypt, after its previous steps, or to establish its claws in the entrails of Egypt. Indeed, it is correct to say that the English government, by its cunning, which it has nearly completed, wants to seize the reins of the Egyptian lands, so that they may be entirely in its control.

It is well known that the maintenance of mosques and religious schools is through the endowments (awqaf) established by the righteous of the nation over long ages, and which are still being established by those who follow their example. The foundation of the Islamic religion is the maintenance of mosques and religious schools. The endowments are a great pillar upon which the edifice of the Islamic religion stands. The men of the English government, by their cunning, intended to make the scholars who maintain the mosques of God and the institutes of religious sciences subject to their judgments, bound to their officials, so that they could use them (even if they seek the impossible) to win the hearts of the people to them, and to attract them to their loyalty. Perhaps they might gain from them a justification before the European states, proving the desire of the Egyptians for their continued presence under the authority of the English government, and their satisfaction with what it decrees for them. Thus, Lord Northbrook saw fit to solve the problem of compensation, by the English government granting a loan to the Egyptian treasury, with which to pay the compensation for the losses caused by the bombardment. The condition was that the religious endowments would be the guarantor of the loan, and its management would be handed over to the English. O you sleeping ones, awake! O you heedless ones, pay attention!

O people of honour and dignity, O people of chivalry and pride, O people of religious zeal and Islamic fervour, raise your heads. You see a calamity descending upon your homelands, and you are not far from it, nor are you isolated from it. If it has not befallen you today, it will befall you tomorrow. You have been lenient in defending your sacred rights, and have been heedless of what this government has intended for you of humiliation, degradation, and the imposition of disgrace. You have been distracted by illusions, and have killed yourselves, and have waited and hesitated, and have been deceived by hopes, until God's command came, and the deluded one was deceived by God. You have come to the edge of the precipice of humiliation, and it is feared that you will soon be cast into the hell of servitude. But the time for remedy has not passed. Souls are still in bodies, minds are still in heads, and ambitions are still in... O you who are asleep, do not sleep! O you who are heedless, do not be heedless! If you are believers, do not be content with baseness out of fear of death. Know that a little firmness and a light boldness at this time will do what the great army cannot.

Yes, the states are united in opposing the English, and the English are preoccupied with the Sudanese question, and the hearts of their subjects in the East—especially the Muslims—are turning away from them, and the hidden stores of hatred are ready to spring upon them. A small action in opposing them by the people of Egypt would bring about—with God's help—their fall, the overturning of their banners, and their return in failure, as losers. So firmness, firmness! Beware, beware of hesitation and sitting back! This is a time in which the believers draw near to their Lord with the best religious act. This is a time in which the happiness of both abodes is attained. For the worker in it is the good of this world, and for him in the Hereafter is the

reward and more. This is a time in which the believer's trust in his Lord's promise appears. This is a time in which the worker is thanked on the face of the earth, and his work is praised above the seven heavens. Indeed, Satan frightens his allies, so do not fear your enemies, and do not be like those who preferred the world to the Hereafter. God has made the love of death, in seeking His pleasure and elevating His word, a sign of faith. Be with God, and He will be with you, and He will strengthen your feet.

Be with God, and He will not break His promise. If you are sincere with Him in your work, examine your hearts, test your faith, and do not doubt your Lord's promises, for none doubts them except the disbelieving people.

News Section — Chapter 97: The Struggle between England and France

The Standard showed great severity in its comments on French policy, saying: Although we do not advise our (English) government to show enmity to France, we must follow the path that suits us, without waiting for any favour from the French nation, nor fearing its hostility. Every plan not built on this foundation will only lead to disappointment, and will result only in loss. The divergence of

interests between France and England is to such a degree that harmony between the two states is impossible. The Standard was not alone in this opinion. All the important English newspapers are of the same view, with even greater severity in their attacks on French policy. This indicates the depth of the estrangement between the two states. Their mutual estrangement, which increases day by day, may lead to a contest more severe than verbal contest. The politicians in England see that they will lose, on that day, more than the French government will lose, in terms of the isolation of its people from the states, and their immersion in... and the preoccupation of their nation with affairs outside their country. If this period is prolonged, or if the struggle is with a strong, warlike nation, all of this will lead them into a failure from whose consequences they will not easily escape. We ask God to bring about what they fear.

News Section — Chapter 98: The Harm of the English

The movements of the wise are according to their purposes and their estimation of what is most worthy of consideration—what issues from the great men who manage the affairs of kingdoms on the principles of reason and the foundations of thought. The guardians of nations in every state must be on the lookout for every political movement, and

must watch to see its goal and to investigate its motive. A great movement by a great politician may shake the foundations of every state, and disrupt the general bonds between one nation and another. It is not for a cunning politician to limit his view to what is around him, and to attribute every political event to what is imagined in his mind and thought to be in accordance with his interest. He would stray from guidance by his short-sightedness, and would miss the truth by his self-conceit. Rather, he must examine the intentions of politicians on the tablet of possibility, and read them on the pages of the benefits and harms that the natures of nations, the necessities of their creeds, the positions of their countries, and their ties with others drive them to seek or to avoid. Thus, he can, between these attractions and repulsions, preserve his course and protect his system of conduct. He must ride the waves of events like a skilled helmsman, steering his ship across the seas, safe from dangers, benefiting even from storms. The French government was the most severe of the states in opposing England's financial demands, and by this severity, the conference collapsed. After this, Prince Bismarck made efforts to bring about the meeting of the three emperors, and they met in Skierniewice. Three great kings met after long communication, with their ministers and men distinguished among politicians for their high opinion and far-reaching goals. Was this meeting to quench the heat of longing and to answer the call of personal love? Was it, as the newspapers mentioned, to discuss the means necessary to overcome the anarchists? How could this be, when the anarchists are only thieves, suppressed by internal authority, and it is enough to close the doors of... by a small measure between those...? Such matters are trivial affairs. What the newspapers say of this kind is intended only to conceal and to divert minds from looking at the truth. What great

purpose brought them together? They did not meet for the benefit of a single state, for the law of competition cancels out the virtue of selflessness. To this meeting was added the multiple meetings between Prince Bismarck... This imperial agreement would give France a strong pillar in opposing England, until the discord becomes firmly entrenched and leads to a war that weakens French power and achieves what he wants. This is a benefit specific to Germany, if it were able to achieve it.

So what would the two states that are its rivals gain from agreeing with it? Does the Prince intend only to compliment France and to heal its wounds by supporting it in its wishes, so that the relationship between it and Germany is cleared, and the enmities between them are forgotten? A goal not to be sought, and the matter is as usual. Does he intend to... to revenge the insult that befell him in the conference? If this is it, why do the states agree with him on a revenge against...? Are there not in the world sufficient opportunities for revenge...? And is it not closer to...? Could that great matter be a means to this trivial purpose, while England was closer to Germany in this direction, and more worthy of the Prince's inclination and alliance with it, to achieve this goal? Did the Prince want to occupy Russia and to distract France with the Egyptian question, so that eyes would sleep on Austria, and it would advance from the side of Herzegovina and Bosnia to wherever God willed and the power allowed, in a place of rupture and a cause of discord? Did the Prince want to delight his eyes with the sight of conquests?

After he had opened a door for Austria in the East, from the side of Herzegovina, he marked out for Russia the road to Herat and Qandahar, and for France a line in the Tunisian borders... and he expanded the field for the states in their conquests, even if Germany

did not gain any profit from that? This is something that the mind cannot conceive, nor can the eye perceive.

It is not proper for us to say that the great alliance between the Caesars and their concern for strengthening the bonds between them was only to restrain the hand of the English from Egypt, to preserve the interest on the debt and the amount of consumption as they were, and to preserve the Egyptian financial law, as the Berlin correspondent of Le Temps thought. He said: It is the intention of Prince Bismarck to support the French argument with firm resolve and sound will, and he will be one hand with France in preserving the financial condition in Egypt as it was. In the correspondent's claim, this was a motive for the politicians of England to exert their efforts to untie the knot of the agreement between Germany, Austria, and France. The Egyptian question alone is not something that would call for a general campaign. I see under this benefit the hosts of terrors; and behind this cloud, rains of calamities. I see a change in the political geography, a great change in international plans, and a reversal in the form of public bonds. Yes, it may be one of the primary principles of this work that Prince Bismarck agrees with France. He has found no good in opposing it for a long time. Every time he tried to suppress it, it rose higher.

So he wants to try its friendship as he tried its enmity, and to push Russia into Asia, which is safer for the two German states. And he would push Austria to advance its steps in every direction, and he would leave behind it the leadership of the Prince—the financial leader. He sent his son, Count Herbert Bismarck, as ambassador to

London, to be the guardian of his secret and the executor of his work. If what he hopes from the first resolve is missed, he will not be ashamed to turn from it to the other. Perhaps the confusion he would be driven to achieve what he wants would be through the holding of a new conference, under the name of the Egyptian question. It is said that he will persist in his severity on this question to a certain extent, as reported by the important newspapers. Events have decreed that the Ottoman state and the Egyptian government, which is free from the control of the state... and is bound to preserve the... and to be extremely cautious, so that their loss will not be in the benefit of others. If the state acts as befits it, it will preserve its rights and protect the rest of its kingdoms. The wise, vigilant man benefits from every event; otherwise, the heedless one is exposed to every danger. The state seeks to harm the English from every side.

So what prevents the Ottoman state from competing with the great states, while it is the most capable of harming them? For they are in its lands, corrupting them, and the inhabitants of the lands are waiting only for a step from their state towards them, and they will rise up against them.

News Section — Chapter 99: Alas!

The latest news has reported the occurrence of a revolution in Darsin, in the lands of Armenia, intended to disrupt the Ottoman authority in those regions. The direction of the wind of this revolution is from the Armenian association in Tiflis. The weapons and ammunition of the rebels are supplied from that quarter. These are the sluggish nations that had no place in the universe, no trace on the page of existence, and no foot in the ranks of the great nations. They have begun to seek a formal name and a high status, spending their wealth and sacrificing their lives, not fearing the horrors of death. So what is the matter with the Muslims in some regions, when they were the heads of the world? We see them today in despair and hopelessness, with foreign states snatching their kingdoms, while they are motionless, content with the sighs of the aged and the sorrow of the decrepit, while they have great numbers, and their strength is like the strength of forty million men? If this is the case, how strange!

News Section — Chapter 100: Ismail Pasha Yearns for Egypt!

The former Khedive was greatly affected by what has befallen Egypt. The intensification of the crisis in its internal affairs, the difficulty of its finances, its being surrounded by external seditions, and its

entanglement in political problems, made him yearn for it (and he has the right to yearn). He wanted to leave no pretext for the English (in securing the debt and extinguishing the revolution), so he revealed from his inner self what the République Française mentioned: that he would undertake to pay what the holders of Egyptian bonds demand, and that he is ready to lead an army to fight Muhammad Ahmad! We saw in the Matin that Monsieur Courcel, the French ambassador in Berlin, informed his government officially that the three Caesars had resolved to send to Khedive Tawfiq Pasha a memorandum to the effect that his position would be in danger if he continued for a long time to rely on England in the financial affairs of Egypt, and that the efforts to bring about Ismail Pasha's return to Egypt would be supported by the ministries of Berlin, Strasbourg, Vienna, and Paris, and that Monsieur Herbert Bismarck would undertake to inform the political circles in London of what would result from the return of the former Khedive of benefits, officially declaring that the return of Ismail Pasha is better in the opinion of the states than the actions taken by England regarding the interests and benefits of Europe in the Egyptian lands.

If we know that Ismail Pasha, if he returns to Egypt, would not be content with reducing English authority in the Nile Valley, but would strive to completely erase English influence, and perhaps extend his ties to other Eastern lands within English control, to frustrate their actions there and to demolish the foundations of their authority over them. For he knows that the English state is the cause of every calamity that has befallen him. It seems that the English sensed this from him, as some newspapers reported, so they prevented him from

achieving his purpose, and they are still preventing him. But if the rest of the states agree with the Ottoman state on his return, it would not be far from happening. However, one newspaper mentioned a strong obstacle and a great barrier that would prevent the success of this purpose: the refusal of the Imperial Person to issue the firman for Ismail Pasha as Khedive of Egypt, in any case. The exaggeration of this obstacle is based on what appeared to the Sultan: that Ismail Pasha, while in Europe, powerless and without authority, was concerned with disturbing the Ottoman affairs and opposing the Imperial Person. The many letters and numerous articles, printed in various languages and filled with what touches the Caliphate, have reached the Sultan's knowledge, and he believes that the one who instigated their writing was Ismail Pasha. This suspicion is what prevents the Sultan from facilitating his return, for fear that if he had influence and authority in Egypt, actions might issue from him that would not serve the state's interest. According to the newspaper's opinion, Ismail Pasha's return to Egypt, after despairing of England, would only be possible by repairing the relationship with the Sultan and winning over the other states. Is this possible? Perhaps it is possible if the Sultan trusts what reassures him, and it becomes clear to the states what they can rely on. This is only if the states and the Ottoman state do not consider the movement of public opinion in Egypt. If they make this the basis of the work, the matter becomes more difficult. Public opinion in these days is divided in Egypt. Some people are inclined to Tawfiq Pasha; some have risen to call for Halim Pasha, asking people to sign a petition for him, as we have been told by reliable news; and some are withholding their opinion and silent. We will come to explain this matter later, if events call for it.

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News Section — Chapter 101: The Opportunity

If the lines of recent events are read and given their due consideration, and if the state of politics in Europe at this recent time is observed, and what the meeting of the three Caesars reveals, and what the exchange of visits between Baron de Courcel, the French ambassador in Berlin, and Prince Bismarck indicates—if a thoughtful observer reflects on what follows from all this, he would correctly judge that the situation in Egypt is dangerous for England, and that nothing remains for its deliverance from its hands except one thing: the Ottomans standing up for their rights, and their insistence on demanding them, and their refusal to be reassured by the actions of the English agents in Istanbul. Especially at this time, when the states are intent on reducing English authority and snatching Egypt from England's hand. The politicians see that nothing has a stronger effect on easing the Egyptian question than the intervention of the Ottoman state.

The correspondent of Le Temps in Vienna reported, based on what he had learned from a reliable source, that the states of Germany, Austria, and Russia are of the opinion that the intervention of the Ottoman state

and the renewal of the Sultan's authority in the Nile Valley would necessitate a change in the political situation. The purpose of this is only to restrain the hands of the English from those regions. It is not wise for the Ottoman state to listen to the advice of England and its agents, while it sees that the English newspapers, with the voice of the English nation, are calling upon the British government to declare its protection over Egypt, indeed, to establish itself in Khartoum after the siege is lifted, and to advise it to extend the railway from Suakin to the city of Khartoum. If the state is lenient in this, it would have neglected a great part... This is a decisive matter. Another state is concerned with expelling the English from Egypt; it is the rightful owner of it, so the state would have no share of its kingdom if it loses it by negligence.

Lord Northbrook and his followers are trying to win the hearts of the people by adorning hopes and imagining pleasures. "He promises them and gives them hope, but Satan promises them only delusion." They want to take from them a support before the states, and to establish for themselves a legal basis for their stay in Egypt. On the other hand, they are gathering a great force in Egypt, in preparation for expected events, but under the name of rescuing Gordon. If the English found a proof of cunning and strength in might, and their arrogance and pride led them to disregard the states, relying on their lack of connection on land and their control of the naval bases in the sea, such as Malta and Cyprus, and if the Ottoman state were to fight them, they are the most capable of fighting it from the direction of Arish and on all the coasts. So what would the outcome be? Would the states swallow their anger and leave the English alone? We do not

think so. But if obstacles prevent them from harming the English in Egypt, they would turn to harming them by obtaining a spoil equal to Egypt—and that would only be in the lands of the Muslims. So the leniency of the rightful owners in the Nile Valley would lose them other rights elsewhere. The Ottoman state is more deserving than all the states to act in the Egyptian question, and more worthy of concern for it. It is incumbent upon it to be the most eager to achieve victory over the English in it. The state is in the position of defending its life, which, by the law of nature, is a stronger motive and more conducive to action than seeking profit. An evil that has already occurred is more deserving of remedy than an evil that is feared. An immediate danger is more worthy of attention than a vain delusion.

The souls of the Egyptians are in a state of agitation. What has corrupted their hearts against the English is their bad conduct in the government, their seizure of its administration, their abolition of national rights, and their marshalling of armies in the country for the purpose of establishing themselves there. All these arrows have pierced the depths of their hearts. The wounds have been deepened by what the newspaper Al-Ahram has acknowledged regarding... and what has been confirmed of the affliction of the notables and the ruin of the nobles. If the Egyptians, in this state, were to see a light movement from their state (the Ottoman), it would be enough to ward off the evil of the English. A little work would be sufficient. Today, the English are heading to Sudan. If they saw any firmness from the Ottomans, they would stop in the position of the bewildered, indeed, they would fall into what they have no escape from. The danger, all

the danger, lies in the silence of the Ottomans in demanding their rights. It is not wise for them to risk themselves, trusting in the promises of the English, while they know that there is no faithfulness in them. This is the time in which they can restore their authority over Egypt and to the highest reaches of Sudan, and in that is the preservation of their kingdoms from aggression. None would be content to let this opportunity pass except one who has surrendered himself to death and cast himself into destruction. This is what the eye confirms, and no two people differ on it. So whoever is guided, it is for his own good; and whoever goes astray, he goes astray to his own loss. And I am not a guardian over you.

News Section — Chapter 102: Gladstone

All the European states have risen to demand their rights and to harass the English in Egypt, especially France and Germany. All of them are demanding that England fulfil its promises, and they are establishing arguments against its conduct in various ways and from many directions. Muhammad Ahmad and his followers have finished their agricultural work, gathered their harvest, prepared their provisions, and mobilised large forces, heading towards the borders of... and Berber. The latest news is that they have sent two armies on two roads,

one advancing through the desert and the other along the Nile line. Anxiety, disorder, distress, and the breakdown of security are increasing in Egypt every day, so much so that a general sedition is feared, especially after the people have sensed the evil intentions of the English. These ideas are supported by what has spread among the soldiers and the general public: that the Sultan is not pleased with the English actions in Egypt, nor is he comfortable with their advance on Sudan, and he wishes that they would meet with resistance that would prevent them from taking a single step. The falling of the Nile waters, the lack of means of transport, the ruggedness of the road, and the distance of the journey—all of this has extinguished that enthusiasm which was carrying the English troops to Khartoum faster than the movement of...

and has made it almost impossible for them to reach or to capture Khartoum—which is the real intention. The turning of the hearts of the Indians against their English rulers, and the appearance of those resentments with the inability to conceal them, especially from the Nawabs and Rajahs, who fear the attacks of the English government upon them, and they are now in great fear of its... and its tightening of control over their actions, and the removal of every semblance of independence. Indeed, some of them and the notables of the Indian people have sent envoys to... to... to show their loyalty and to ascertain the day of their deliverance. All of this has caused great concern and confusion in the thoughts of the English politicians, and a floundering in their course. On one hand, they want to conceal their shame from the Egyptian actions while achieving some of their purposes. So they ask the states to form a general control and to leave Egypt alone, with a small number of their troops remaining in Wadi Halfa to preserve the Egyptian borders after the dismissal of the national troops (just as they

have preserved the other Indian kingdoms with similar small forces!). They imagine that they are pleasing the states with this partnership... the English nation with illusory hopes and childish nonsense, which they make the basis of their policy in the Indian kingdoms.

Among that is what Lord Dufferin (that famous politician who ruined Egypt's affairs) adopted as a solid foundation for the preservation of the Indian kingdoms, after he was appointed governor over them. He said, in an article he gave in...: He considers himself fortunate in his personal acquaintance with Monsieur de Giers, the Russian Foreign Minister. He then praised him with a sharpness that indicates sincerity, saying: I see in Monsieur de Giers a sincere desire for reconciliation between Russia and England and for the removal of discord between them. He went so far in his statement that the Memorial Diplomatique said, after mentioning Russia's congratulations to Lord Dufferin on his new position: "The Lord is entrusted with concluding a peace that would set a respite for the clash of the two contending states in Central Asia, after the determination of the borders of Afghanistan from the north. This is what his Lordship has been driven to by the force of anxiety and the intense desire to calm the feelings of the English people, and to deceive the minds in India, and to divert their hearts from the salvation of the (English) government."

The reader knows from this state of affairs the extent of the incapacity that afflicts the politicians of Britain, who have begun to make the basis of their policy in the East a personal acquaintance between their governor in India and a Russian minister who has never taken a step in the East except with India as his goal, nor advanced a foot towards it except after breaking a treaty and violating a covenant. The Russian minister's oath to the Lord this time would not differ from the previous oaths. Personal affection has no value in grand politics. The English

delight in it is only a result of bewilderment and the boredom of minds. What is even more astonishing is that Gladstone raises his voice among his people, saying: It is weak-minded to imagine weakness in the English Empire, or to expect weakness in it in the future. The expansion of the states necessitates the expansion of England. How astonishing! If Russia expands towards India, where would England expand? I think it would contract, not expand. He says: A day will come when you will feel fear; it is far, not near. Glory be to God! Russia has placed its hand on the gate of India, Sarakhs, and its fame has spread throughout its regions, and the hearts of its people are inclined to it. It does not fear the English, nor does it hesitate in its course.

So what day would be a day of fear, if not the day when Russia reaches the borders of Punjab, or arrives at the Indus River? The confusion of panic has taken hold of the English, and from... the Pall Mall Gazette said that this statement of Gladstone indicates a new confidence in the states, after negotiations that have solved the problems. Anyone with the least knowledge of the condition of the English in the Indian kingdoms, their military weakness, the distribution of their fleets to preserve the rest of their possessions, and the aversion of the Eastern subjects, with the alliance of the states against them and the advance of Russia towards India day by day, would judge that their appointed time is near, and the day is near when their authority will be demolished and their shadow in the East will shrink. He mocks what Gladstone says: "The power of the English Empire increases with the renewal of days." It is the opinion of the wise that if Muhammad Ahmad advances, and the men of magnanimity from Upper Egypt, Sharqiyya, and Beheira support him in Egypt, and the hope of the English fails... and the sedition takes

hold in the time of... and the believers are delivered from the yoke of servitude, and the matter is decided, and it is said: "Away with the wrongdoing people."

News Section — Chapter 103

The blindness of some people in Egypt, or their turning a blind eye to the intentions of the English there, is a matter of amazement. The British government is striving with all its might to stop the payment of the consumption tax and to reduce the interest on the Egyptian debt. All the great European states oppose it in this. Is the English state the most merciful of states to the worlds in general, and to the Egyptians in particular, so that its mercy has called it to undertake this generous act, to lighten the debt on the Egyptian treasury, to provide comfort to the people, and to expand their wealth? Or has the state not exaggerated in compassion, and is it on the limit of moderation in judgment, but the other states for this reason do not want to lighten any of their burdens? Or has it looked into the condition of the Egyptians and uncovered the reality of their situation, and learned of their inability to fulfil what they owe, while this reality is hidden from the other states, so the British government saw fit to inform the states of what it has learned, as a service of truthfulness, but it is opposed by

others out of ignorance of the real situation? No, no, none of this is true.

Whoever has travelled through the English colonies, like the Indian lands and others, will see that the people in those kingdoms have been burdened with such heavy taxes and permanent and temporary dues that have no known limit, nor are they measured by any standard, until they have fallen into a pit of poverty from which they find no escape. There are millions of people in India who feed on wild herbs, due to the lack of food for humans, despite the fertility of their lands and the excellence of their plants. Is it then right for a wise person to think, after this, that the English have been stingy with their mercy on their Indian subjects, and have poured its flood on the Egyptians? What bond is there between the Egyptians and the British race that would call for this special treatment? Is it correct to say that the French nation, with its previous legacy in Egypt, is hostile to the Egyptians and is harsh on them, refusing to reduce the interest and to facilitate the payment of the consumption tax, with the intention of harming the Egyptians, and the rest of the states agree with it on this? This is inconceivable. Egypt has what attracts the states to it, not what drives them to take revenge on it.

Or is it that the political agents in Egypt and the directors of the Debt Fund from the men of the great states have been ignorant of the condition of the Egyptians and the state of their finances, and the English alone have knowledge of them among all the nations?

Moreover, whoever claims that Egypt is poor in its wealth and incapable of paying what the treaty of the states has imposed on it, has invented a lie. Egypt was able to pay what was demanded of it in the days of Riyad Pasha's ministry, with the best performance, with the utmost ease, and with the people's satisfaction in paying the taxes of

all kinds, and their joy at the ease of... and the prosperity of the harvest seasons. And so the situation continued in the days of... Pasha on the foundation laid in his time, until England advanced with its army of intrigues on those... and split the still souls, and shed blood, and caused great slaughter. What prompted England to insist on amending the Liquidation Law and reducing the interest? What prompted the states to oppose it? The British government wants to dominate Egypt and enslave its people, and it sees that the continuation of the current state of affairs, with its established principles, would prevent it from achieving its goal, and would reduce the share of the English treasury from Egypt's wealth.

For this reason, it hastened, before declaring protection or sovereignty, to interfere in the reduction of the interest on the debt, to... its grip on the... of Egypt, and to monopolise its... for itself. This is its purpose, which was not hidden from the states, so they opposed it and insisted on their opposition, out of concern for their interests. They demanded of England the evacuation of Egypt, sooner or later. For this reason, they are concerned with closing the doors of tricks to it, and preserving the... so that its danger will be averted. The intentions of the English have been revealed, and their hidden purposes have become clear to all of Europe, and no state among the European states has any doubt about them—even if some of the people in those lands... (for it has become accustomed to... in its way, to achieve its purpose by every means, to attain through them what we have repeatedly pointed out); their minds are deceived either by ignorance or by greed, to incline with the wind of the English government and to think that it does not intend anything but good for Egypt. If good flows in the country and comfort spreads to all its regions, the English troops will evacuate it as they came to it, and they will return to their countries,

happy that they have fulfilled the duties of trust and the rights of humanity!

We are amazed at these deluded ones—how have they not learned from Lord Northbrook's movements? He roams the Egyptian lands, summoning the village chiefs and sheikhs, and discussing with them what he wants, sometimes in secret and sometimes openly, and engaging them in conversations about what could be used as a means to enable his government to dominate that country. Was not this course enough to perceive the truth? How do the heedless ones explain it to themselves? What illusions make them imagine what they think? Has not the veil been lifted from the evil intention by Lord Northbrook's question to Sheikh al-Abbasi al-Mahdi, the Sheikh of Al-Azhar and the Mufti of Cairo, when he opened the conversation with him by saying: "What do you know of the feelings of the people if we, the English, were to prolong our stay in the country?" This is the cunning one, addressing a sheikh of the greatest sheikhs and the highest of them in rank in Egypt, with this question. The least of its effects would be to arouse suspicions and create doubt. The Sheikh's answer would have indicated an aversion to the English remaining in the occupation of Egypt. So the Lord tried to recover what he had missed, saying: "We do not want to stay." But this is sufficient to show what he intends to... as a proof of deceit upon children, let alone the mature.

The Lord wants, by these attempts, to explore the hidden feelings of hearts, to discover the ways to achieve what he intends, of domination over Egypt. When one door is closed in his face, he tries to knock on another. Is it not time for these deceived ones to return to themselves, and to extend the gaze of criticism to the movements of this Lord? What reform does the Lord intend by dismissing the Egyptian troops, and abolishing everything called an Egyptian army, and erasing this

name from the records of the Egyptian government? The Lord insists, with all his concern, on replacing the Egyptian soldiers with police and guards called the "Zabtieh." What is this concern, if not to pave the way for the complete domination over Egypt? This is a path that the English have followed in all their conquests, as we have repeatedly pointed out. This English cunning one will not deviate from it, after his predecessors took it and followed it, and after he himself followed it when he was the governor of India, and reaped its fruits.
He strives, with all his might and power, to expel the Egyptian troops and to replace them with police, so that after a few days he can propose replacing the Egyptian police with men from the English or Indian armies, using as a pretext the corruption of the Egyptians' morals, their lack of fitness for regular service, and their inability to perform the functions of policing and preserving order. By this, he would strip the government of all its powers, and the English authority would be dominant in all regions, with no opposition to it from the government of the country. This would be a prelude to the declaration of sovereignty and possession, as his predecessors did in India with every Nawab and Rajah, and as their successors continue to do after them.

The English claim that their intervention in Egypt was only to calm the disturbance, to remove the rebellion, and to establish peace. The rebellion has ended, 'Urabi and the leaders of his party have been imprisoned, their forces have been dispersed, and no trace remains of what they called rebellion. The British state has obliged the Egyptian government to renounce Sudan for a long time. So what does it want

by sending armies to Egypt now? Is it merely to send Gordon, as the men of England claim? They say that Gordon is sailing his boats at all times to fight the rebels, and the English newspapers themselves testify that he can save himself in any way he wishes. What then is the need for armies? And what is the purpose of sending troops to Egypt? Is it to...? Do they want the British government, by sending its troops, to remove the internal disorder and to restrain the hands of thieves and highway robbers? This disorder only occurred with the presence of foreign armies and the aversion to the foreign authority. How can a thing be removed by the presence of its causes? This disorder will be removed and its effect erased when the enemy's army departs from the land, leaving behind neither heads nor tails.

Yes, all these are pretexts that the English claim as a veil for what they seek of domination over the throne of sovereignty in Egypt, and the casting of men in its plains and its rugged lands. So nothing remains but for the heedless to awaken, and for the one in authority to attend to what surrounds him, to beware of this great plot, and not to help the English in their purposes, out of ignorance or deception by what they make him imagine of a benefit that would return to him or his country. Glory be to God! Was such a matter in need of...? This is a place of wonder! How can a man be deceived by their tricks and their traps, and not be taught by events, nor trained by trials, nor by the succession of calamities and disasters? Anyone with the least knowledge of the English course in their past or present knows that they possess countries by the hands of their inhabitants, and kill their princes with their own swords. This Eastern prince sees his neighbour's land and thinks the calamity is specific to its location, so he is heedless of it and does not fear falling into what his neighbour

fell into. So he falls into the same trap that his neighbour was caught in.

They are like sheep: the butcher leads one of them to the slaughterhouse, and the rest of the flock is heedless of what is being done to their brother, grazing and thinking themselves safe, until they are all destroyed. There is no shame on a nation of small number and weak power if it is defeated by a stronger and more numerous nation that overwhelms it with force of arms. The shame that the ages will not erase, nor the passage of time make one forget, is for the nation, or one of its men, or a group of them, to strive to enable the hands of the enemy to control their forelocks, either out of heedlessness of their own affairs, or out of desire for a temporary benefit and a cash reward for their betrayal. Thus, they become seekers of their own destruction by their own hands. We must raise the banners of national love, carry the factors of Islamic magnanimity, and ignite the fires of national zeal, to frustrate the hopes of the English and to throw their schemes back into their own throats, and to cast those heedless ones who incline to them beyond the borders of this land, to join the traitors who preceded them, and to taste the torment of humiliation for what they used to earn.

This is if we despair of their awakening and their return to the truth and truthfulness in loving their homelands and caring for their interests. If they repent, reform, and turn back, the truth will be their support, and God will be their Protector and Helper—and He is the best Protector and the best Helper.

News Section — Chapter 104: The Failure of the English Effort

We have explained the reason for the English concern in amending the Egyptian financial law, and the states' opposition to them in what they desired. When their insistence was of no avail, and the states stood firm in their refusal, they turned away from their path and submitted to the opinion of the states. The interpreter of their secret and the tongue of their condition, "Nubar Pasha," announced to all the consuls of the states in Egypt that the Egyptian (English) government had retracted what it had resolved upon—and had implemented—of... and had withdrawn its hand from... and had weakened its authority in the public works in Egypt, which it had been seeking to control in order to... as we have pointed out. When they saw that the long period of opposition from the states might divert them from other goals they sought to achieve, they turned their faces and reversed their resolve without shame. We do not think it is hidden from the Egyptians what was the secret of the first resolve and the secret of the second reversal, and that this concession was only forced by the present necessity and the existence of a political obstacle. As for the rest of their ambitions and the remainder of their purposes, they continue to march towards them, and they do not leave any of them, except that they are confronted by the armies of ambition and the obstacles of resolve

stand in their faces. There, they return in failure and lose a manifest loss.

Thus ends the period of delusion. Its excess was, and it attained its punishment. If kindness prolongs it and gives it respite, falsehood is still falsehood, and truth remains truth.

Written by:
Muhammad 'Abduh
Jamal al-Din al-Afghani

English Term | Arabic Term | Explanation / Suggested Retranslation

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Translator's Notes and Historical Context

The following notes are intended for Western and modern readers. They explain technical Islamic terminology, historical figures, political institutions, and geographical references that may otherwise be

unfamiliar. The notes clarify the text without replacing its nineteenth-century perspective.

1. al-ta'aṣṣub / al-'aṣabiyya. The text distinguishes al-ta'aṣṣub (fanaticism or zeal) from al-'aṣabiyya (communal solidarity or group loyalty). In this edition, al-'aṣabiyya is rendered primarily as "communal solidarity" or "religious solidarity," while al-ta'aṣṣub is retained as "fanaticism" where the polemical sense requires it.

2. Taqlīd. A technical term for adherence to established legal authority without renewed independent reasoning. The authors criticize taqlīd when it becomes blind adherence and call for the revival of ijtihād.

3. Ijtihād. Independent legal reasoning grounded in the Qur'an, Sunnah, and the recognized principles of Islamic jurisprudence. The authors present its revival as a means of addressing changing circumstances without abandoning the sources of the law.

4. al-Salaf. The pious predecessors: conventionally the Companions, their successors, and the successors of their successors. The term denotes an early Islamic model of religious practice and intellectual authority.

5. Jabr. A theological doctrine of absolute compulsion[5], according to which human acts are wholly determined. The text distinguishes this doctrine from belief in divine decree and argues that moral responsibility presupposes a real sphere of human choice.

6. al-Kasb. The Ash'ari doctrine of "acquisition," according to which human beings acquire the acts that God creates, thereby preserving moral accountability. The term is theological and should not be read merely as economic "earning."

7. Taklīf[7]. The divine command or obligation by which human beings become morally accountable for their actions. In the argument of the text, taklīf presupposes meaningful human choice and responsibility.

8. Fiṭrah. The primordial natural disposition with which human beings are created, inclined toward truth and goodness. The text uses fiṭrah in discussing the relation between innate disposition and acquired character.

9. Bid'a[9]. Religious innovation introduced after the Prophet's time. The word often carries a pejorative sense in classical Islamic polemics; its force depends on context.

10. Dhimma[10]. A covenant of protection governing the legal status of non-Muslim subjects in an Islamic polity. It guaranteed specified rights and obligations; jizya was associated with this legal status.

11. Jizya. A tax associated historically with the status of protected non-Muslim subjects (ahl al-dhimma). The term is retained because “poll tax” alone can obscure its wider legal context.

12. Shurā[12]. The Islamic principle of consultation in governance and collective decision-making. The text treats consultation as a foundation of sound rule.

13. Ḥimāya / Protection. In the Egyptian context, British “protection” is treated by the authors as a euphemism for effective foreign control and colonial domination.

14. Al-'Urwah al-Wuthqā. The title of the journal, conventionally translated here as The Firmest Bond. The phrase comes from Qur'an 2:256 and denotes the “firmest bond” or “most trustworthy handhold.”

15. Jamal al-Din al-Afghani. His precise place of birth and early identity remain disputed in modern scholarship. The present edition follows the historical text's naming while noting the controversy rather than silently resolving it.

16. Muhammad 'Abduh. A leading Egyptian reformer and later Mufti of Egypt (1899–1905). He was central to the intellectual project represented in Al-'Urwah al-Wuthqa.

17. Ahmed 'Urabi. Leader of the Egyptian nationalist revolt of 1881–1882 against the Khedive and growing European intervention. The edition uses the standardized transliteration “'Urabi.”

18. Muhammad Ahmad al-Mahdi[18]. The Sudanese religious and political leader who proclaimed himself the Mahdi in 1881 and led the movement that defeated Egyptian and British forces in Sudan.

19. Tawfiq Pasha. Khedive of Egypt from 1879 to 1892. The journal treats his government in the context of the growing European financial and political control over Egypt.

20. Lord Dufferin. British diplomat who played a major role in the post-1882 reorganization of Egypt and whose policies are sharply criticized in the journal.

21. Lord Northbrook. British statesman and former Viceroy of India, sent to Egypt in 1884 in connection with British policy there. The name is standardized throughout as Northbrook.

22. Gladstone. William Ewart Gladstone, British Prime Minister. The journal's treatment of his Egyptian policy reflects its strong anti-imperial argument and should be read as contemporary polemic.

23. Nubar Pasha. Armenian-Egyptian statesman who served as Prime Minister of Egypt and became a recurring figure in the journal's discussion of foreign influence and Egyptian administration.

24. Riyad Pasha. Egyptian statesman and several-times Prime Minister. He appears in the journal in debates over administration, finance, and foreign intervention.

25. Zubair Pasha. Sudanese leader and former slave trader who became an important rival and interlocutor in the politics surrounding Gordon and the Sudan.

26. Gordon Pasha. Charles George Gordon, the British general associated with the defense and fall of Khartoum in 1885. The journal discusses him within the wider Sudan crisis.

27. The Eastern Question. The nineteenth-century European diplomatic problem arising from the weakening and territorial contraction of the Ottoman Empire and the rivalry of European powers over its lands.

28. Liquidation Law. The 1880 Egyptian financial legislation regulating the restructuring of public debt and the European oversight of Egyptian finances.

29. Mixed Courts. Courts established in Egypt in 1876 with Egyptian and European participation, created to adjudicate cases involving foreigners and Egyptians under the capitulations regime.

30. British Occupation[30]. Britain occupied Egypt in 1882. The journal presents the intervention as a form of domination rather than a temporary humanitarian or administrative measure.

31. 'Urabi Revolt[31]. The Egyptian nationalist uprising of 1881–1882, associated with Ahmed 'Urabi, military reform, and resistance to the growing influence of the Khedive and European powers.

32. Ottoman Empire. The imperial state that retained nominal sovereignty over Egypt during the period discussed in the journal, even as European financial and military influence expanded.

33. Pan-Islamic Unity. The project of strengthening solidarity among Muslim peoples across linguistic, ethnic, and territorial boundaries. It is one of the journal's central political and intellectual themes.

34. Suez Canal. Opened in 1869, the canal became a major strategic route linking the Mediterranean and Red Sea and was consequently central to European imperial calculations concerning Egypt.

35. Khartoum. The capital of Sudan and the site of the 1884–1885 siege that ended with the death of Gordon and the capture of the city by Mahdist forces.

36. Suakin. A Red Sea port that became an important base for British military operations in the Sudan campaign described in the news section.

37. Berber. A strategically located Sudanese town on the Nile, important to communications between the Red Sea coast and Khartoum.

38. Shendi. A town on the Nile between Berber and Khartoum and an important point in the military movements described in the journal's Sudan reports.

39. Dongola. A major town in northern Sudan and an important strategic location during the Mahdist period.

40. Andaman Islands. A British penal-colony destination used for the exile of political prisoners from parts of the empire; the reference should be understood within the colonial penal system of the period.

41. Dahriyyun. A historical Arabic term for materialists or those associated with denial of divine creation or providence. The journal uses it polemically in discussing religious and intellectual conflict in India; the term is not a modern neutral label.

42. Qur'anic references. Where the translation already identifies a Qur'anic citation, the edition retains the reference. Quotations whose precise source cannot be established from the supplied English text have not been assigned a verse number by conjecture.

43. Historical rhetoric. The English translation deliberately preserves a substantial degree of the original's parallelism, antithesis, cadence, and oratorical intensity. Occasional sentence divisions have been introduced for readability without deliberately modernizing the authors' polemical voice.

Islamic Theological and Juridical Terms

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
Communal Solidarity / Religious Solidarity	العصبية / التعصب (al-ta'aṣṣub / al-'aṣabiyya)	In the text, this is not purely negative. It refers to group solidarity or communal loyalty, especially religious solidarity. The authors defend "religious solidarity" as a virtue when moderate. The term is better conveyed in English as "Religious Solidarity" or "Communal Bonding," depending on context.
Imitation	التقليد (taqlīd)	This is a technical term meaning blind adherence to legal precedent without independent reasoning. It is used critically by Muhammad 'Abduh

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
		to attack intellectual stagnation. Suggested: Blind adherence or Uncritical Imitation with a footnote.
Independent Reasoning	الاجتهاد (ijtihād)	A core Islamic legal concept: deriving rulings from sources through personal effort. 'Abduh calls for its revival. "Independent Reasoning" is acceptable but needs clarification that it is a specific juristic method.
Early Ancestors / Forefathers	السلف (al-salaf)	Specifically, the first three generations of Muslims. "Early Ancestors" is vague. Suggested: The Pious Predecessors (al-Salaf) with a note

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
		explaining its significance in reformist thought.
Rightly-Guided Caliphs	الخلفاء الراشدون (al-khulafā' al-rāshidūn)	The first four caliphs after Muhammad, considered the ideal model of Islamic governance. The term is historical and should be retained with a brief note.
Compulsion / Compulsionists	الجبر / الجبرية (jabr / al-Jabriyya)	A theological doctrine holding that human acts are entirely determined by God. The authors reject this. "Compulsion" is accurate but requires clarification that it is a specific school of thought, not a general concept.
Acquisition	الكسب (al-kasb)	The Ash'ari doctrine that humans

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
		"acquire" the acts God creates, preserving moral responsibility. This is a technical theological term. Suggested: Acquisition (al-kasb) with a footnote explaining its role in free will debates.
Divine Decree and Destiny	القضاء والقدر (al-qadā' wa al-qadar)	The text defends this belief as compatible with human action and heroism. The translation is accurate but needs a note distinguishing it from fatalism (which the authors reject).
Religious Obligation	التكليف (Taklīf (al-taklīf))	The divine command that makes humans morally accountable. The text uses it to show that choice

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
		exists. Suggested: Divine Obligation or Religious Accountability.
Emigration	الهجرة (hijra)	Specifically, migration from a non-Muslim land to preserve one's faith. This is a technical legal duty in certain circumstances. Suggested: Emigration (hijra) with a note.
Poll Tax	الجزية (jizya)	The tax on non-Muslims in Islamic rule. The text uses it to contrast with forced conversion. The term is accurate but may require a footnote explaining its historical context.

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
Protected People	أهل الذمة (ahl al-dhimma)	Non-Muslim subjects of an Islamic state with guaranteed rights. "Protected people" is acceptable but needs explanation that this is a legal category. This is a technical legal category; see the explanatory note on dhimma.
Innovation (in religion)	البدعة (bid'a)	Practices introduced into religion after the Prophet's time, often criticised by reformers. "Innovation" is accurate but requires a note that it is generally pejorative in context.
The Lawgiver	الشارع (al-shāri')	A term for God as the source of Islamic law, sometimes also

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
		used for the Prophet. The translation is acceptable but should be clarified as referring to God.
Consensus of the Nation	إجماع الأمة (ijmā' al-umma)	The community consensus as a source of law. The text elevates it to a high status. "Consensus" is fine but needs a note on its juristic significance.
Jurisprudence	الفقه (fiqh)	Islamic legal theory and practice. The term appears in the text in various contexts. The translation is accurate but may need clarification when contrasted with theology (عقيدة).

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
Theology	العقيدة / الكلام (al-'aqīda / al-kalām)	Islamic doctrinal beliefs. The text often deals with theological questions. "Theology" is fine, but "creed" or "doctrine" may also be appropriate depending on context.
Prophethood	النبوة (al-nubuwwa)	The office of prophecy. The text discusses the Prophet Muhammad's role as the final messenger. The translation is accurate.
Revelation	الوحي (al-waḥy)	Divine communication to prophets. The translation is accurate.

Political and Social Terms

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
Nationality	الجنسية (al-jinsiyya)	In the context of this text, "nationality" means racial or ethnic identity, not citizenship. The authors argue that religious identity supersedes ethnic nationality. Suggested: Racial/Ethnic Identity or Nationality (in the ethnic sense).
Communal Solidarity	العصبية (al-'aṣabiyya)	As above, this is communal solidarity. In political context, it often means factionalism. The

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
		translation shifts between "fanaticism" and "partisanship" inconsistently. Suggested: Solidarity or Communal Loyalty throughout.
Despotic Rule	الحكم المستبد (al-ḥukm al-mustabidd)	Absolute, arbitrary rule by a single ruler. The translation is accurate but may be clarified as Autocratic Rule or Tyranny.
Consultation	الشورى (al-shūrā)	The Islamic principle of consultation, which the text praises as a foundation of good governance. "Consultation" is fine but needs a note that it is a political-religious principle.

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
Representative Government	الحكومة النيابية (al-ḥukūma al-niyābiyya)	Parliamentary or representative government. The text supports this indirectly. Suggested: Parliamentary/Representative Government with a note.
International Control (in Egyptian context)	المراقبة الدولية (al-murāqaba al-dawliyya)	European oversight of Egyptian finances and administration. The translation is accurate, but context shows it was a form of colonial control. Suggested: International Supervision or Joint Control (of European powers).
Protection / Protectorate	الحماية (al-ḥimāya)	The British term for their control over Egypt. The text treats it as a euphemism for colonization.

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
		Suggested: Protectorate or Protection (de facto occupation).
Sovereignty	السيادة (al-siyāda)	Supreme authority. The text criticises British claims to sovereignty. The term is accurate, but the context shows it was a contested legal-political concept.
Sublime Porte / Ottoman Porte	الباب العالي (al-bāb al-'ālī)	The Ottoman government. The term is historical and should be retained with a note.
Khedive	الخديو (al-khidīw)	The Ottoman viceroy of Egypt. The translation retains the term, which is appropriate, but a note on its meaning would help.

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
Caliphate	الخلافة (al-khilāfa)	The leadership of the Islamic community. The text laments its decline to a mere title. "Caliphate" is accurate but may require a brief historical note.
Pan-Islamic Unity	الوحدة الإسلامية (al-waḥda al-islāmiyya)	The goal of uniting all Muslims under a single political/religious authority. The translation is accurate, but the text uses it repeatedly as a central theme.
Nationalism (modern sense)	القومية (al-qawmiyya)	The text generally rejects ethnic nationalism in favour of religious solidarity. The word appears rarely; when it does, it usually means ethnic identity

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
		rather than civic nationalism.
The Eastern Question	المسألة الشرقية (al-mas'ala al-sharqiyya)	The 19th-century European diplomatic problem concerning the decline of the Ottoman Empire. The translation is accurate and well-known.
Status Quo	الحالة المقررة / الاستاتو كو (al-ḥāla al-muqarrara)	Used in the text regarding Egypt's international legal status. The translation is accurate.
Firman	الفرمان (al-firmān)	An Ottoman imperial decree. The text mentions sultanic firmans as legal instruments. The translation is accurate and should be retained with a note.

Philosophical and Psychological Terms

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
Delusion	الوهم (al-wahm)	False imagination or misconception that veils reality. The text treats it as a major obstacle to action. "Delusion" is good, but note that it has a technical philosophical sense in Arabic, often contrasted with intellect ('aql). Suggested: Delusion (al-wahm) with a note.

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
Cowardice	الجبن (al-jubn)	Moral and physical cowardice. The text condemns it as the root of all vices. The translation is accurate and clear.
Hope	الأمل (al-amal)	The text elevates hope as a driving force for action, rooted in trust in God. "Hope" is accurate, but the context gives it a theological dimension.
Virtues	الفضائل (al-faḍā'il)	Moral excellences that bind society together. The translation is accurate.
Vices	الرذائل (al-radhā'il)	Moral failings that destroy social cohesion. The translation is accurate.

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
The Natural Disposition	الفطرة (Fiṭrah (al-fiṭrah))	The innate human state of purity and receptivity to truth. The text uses it to argue that character is acquired, not fixed. "Natural disposition" is acceptable but needs a note on its Islamic theological context.
Soul / Spirit	الروح / النفس (Rūḥ / Nafs (al-rūḥ / al-nafs))	The text uses these terms somewhat interchangeably. "Soul" is generally fine, but in Islamic thought, they have distinct meanings. Suggested: Soul (nafs) and Spirit (rūḥ) with a note.
Pride / Honour	الشرف / الكرامة (al-sharaf / al-karāma)	The text distinguishes between true honour (based on deeds) and

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
		false honour (based on titles and wealth). "Honour" is appropriate, but the distinction should be noted.
Glory	المجد (al-majd)	High status and renown, often tied to collective achievement. The translation is accurate.
Zeal / Fervour	الحمية (al-ḥamiyya)	Passionate defence of one's group or cause. Often positive in the text. "Zeal" is acceptable, but "zeal" can also imply extremism; the text uses it positively for religious commitment. Suggested: Zealous Commitment or Fervour.

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
Innate Instinct	الفطرة / الغريزة (Fiṭrah (al-fiṭrah) / al-gharīza)	The text argues that racial prejudice is not innate but acquired. "Innate instinct" is fine, but the text's argument is that such feelings are learned, not natural.
Reason / Intellect	العقل (al-'aql)	The faculty of rational thought, which the text repeatedly defends against blind imitation (taqlid). The translation is accurate.
Imagination / Fantasy	الخيال (al-khayāl)	The text contrasts it with reason. The translation is accurate, but the text often uses it negatively for misleading fancies.
Certainty / Conviction	اليقين (al-yaqīn)	Firm belief or certainty, especially

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
		religious. The translation is accurate.
Fatalism	القدرية / الجبر (al-qadariyya / al-jabr)	The text explicitly rejects fatalism, distinguishing it from legitimate belief in divine decree. This should be noted clearly.
Materialist / Dahri	الدّهري (al-dahrī)	In this nineteenth-century Islamic context, al-dahrī refers to one who denies divine creation or embraces a materialist worldview. "Materialist" is preferable here to "naturalist."
Materialists / Atheists (Dahriyyun)	الدهريون (al-Dahriyyūn)	A historical term used for materialists or those who deny divine creation or

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
		providence; the text uses it in its nineteenth-century polemical sense.

Colonial and Historical Terms

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
Mahdist Claim / Movement	دعوى المهدوية (da'wā al-mahdawiyya)	The claim of Muhammad Ahmad to be the Mahdi (the expected redeemer). The translation is accurate, but a note

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
		on the Mahdist belief would help readers.
'Urabi Movement / Revolution	الحركة العرابية (al-ḥaraka al-'urābiyya)	The Egyptian nationalist revolt led by Ahmed 'Urabi in 1881-1882. The translation is accurate, but context notes are needed (the British used it as a pretext for invasion).
Gordon Pasha	جوردون باشا (Jūrdūn Bāshā)	Charles George Gordon, the British general sent to Khartoum. The name is retained; a historical note would help.
Zubair Pasha	زبير باشا (Zubayr Bāshā)	A Sudanese leader and former slave trader, who was a rival to Gordon. A brief biographical note is needed.

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
Lord Dufferin	اللورد دوفرين (al-Lūrd Dūfrīn)	British diplomat who oversaw the "reform" of Egypt after 1882. A historical note is useful.
Lord Northbrook	اللورد نورث بروك (al-Lūrd Nūrth Brūk)	British statesman associated with colonial administration in India and Egypt. A note on his role is helpful.
Gladstone / Mr. Gladstone	جلادستون (Jlādistūn)	British Prime Minister. The text is highly critical of his policies in Egypt. A note on his political context is useful.
The Firmest Bond	العروة الوثقى (al-'urwa al-wuthqā)	The title of the newspaper, drawn from Qur'an 2:256, meaning the strongest or most trustworthy bond. The translation "The

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
		Firmest Bond" is accurate and appropriate.
Crusade	الحرب الصليبية (al-ḥarb al-ṣalībiyya)	Literally, "Crusader war." The text uses it to criticise British efforts to mobilise Abyssinia against Muslims. The translation "crusade" is accurate and carries the intended negative connotation.
Colonialism	الاستعمار (al-isti'mār)	The text critiques European, especially British, imperialism. The translation is accurate.
The East / Easterners	الشرق / الشرقيون (al-sharq / al-sharqiyyūn)	The Orient and its peoples. The text uses these terms throughout. The translation is accurate, but the terms carry a specific

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
		19th-century European-Ottoman context.
The West / Westerners	الغرب / الغربيون (al-gharb / al-gharbiyyūn)	Europe and Europeans. The translation is accurate.
The British / English	الإنجليز / بريطانيا (al-injlīz / Brīṭāniyā)	Used interchangeably for the British government and people. The translation is accurate.
Abyssinia	الحبشة (al-Ḥabasha)	Modern-day Ethiopia. The text discusses British efforts to incite Abyssinia against the Mahdist state. A note on the geographical/historical context is useful.

Economic and Financial Terms

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
Liquidation Law	قانون التصفية (qānūn al-taṣfiya)	The 1880 law regulating Egyptian debt and European oversight. The translation is accurate, but a note on its historical significance is needed.
Public Debt / Debt Fund (Commission)	صندوق الدين (ṣundūq al-dayn)	The body managing Egyptian debt. The translation "Debt Fund" or "Public Debt Commission" is appropriate.
Mixed Courts	المحاكم المختلطة (al-maḥākim al-mukhtaliṭa)	Egyptian courts with European and Egyptian judges, established in 1876.

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
		The translation is accurate and should be retained with a note.
Endowments (Awqaf)	الأوقاف (al-awqāf)	Religious charitable trusts that supported mosques and schools. The text warns that the British sought to control them. "Endowments" is acceptable, but "waqf" (plural "awqaf") with a note is better.
Revenue / Income	الإيراد (al-īrād)	Government income. The translation is accurate.
Taxes / Dues	الضرائب / الرسوم (al-ḍarā'ib / al-rusūm)	The text discusses oppressive taxation under British influence. The translation is accurate.

English Term	Arabic Term	Explanation / Suggested Retranslation
Interest (on debt)	الفائدة (al-fā'ida)	The text discusses reducing interest on Egyptian debt. The translation is accurate.
Compensation (for war damages)	التعويضات (al-ta'wīḍāt)	Damages paid after the bombardment of Alexandria. The translation is accurate.
Loan / Debt	القرض / الدين (al-qarḍ / al-dayn)	The text discusses Egyptian financial obligations to European creditors. The translation is accurate.
Bankruptcy / Insolvency	الإفلاس (al-iflās)	The text mentions British attempts to declare Egypt bankrupt to justify control. The translation is accurate.

Additional Clarifications on Specific Passages

Passage / Term	Explanation
"The Earthquake of the English in Sudan"	The title refers to a metaphorical "earthquake" or shock caused by the British in Sudan. The translation is fine, but readers may not know the context (Mahdist revolt, Gordon's mission). A brief note would help.
"The Turkish Scholar is ignorant of the Hejazi Scholar"	This illustrates the breakdown of Islamic intellectual networks across regions. The point is that even scholars have no contact, undermining unity. The translation captures the meaning.
"O you pitied nation!"	This is a rhetorical appeal, typical of the text's oratorical style. The English sounds archaic but is faithful to the original's tone.

Passage / Term	Explanation
References to "Mecca" as the centre of unity	The text proposes Mecca as the symbolic or actual centre for Islamic solidarity. A note on the hajj pilgrimage as a unifier would help.
"The Sudanese are perhaps closer to civilisation than the Abyssinians"	This is a comparative judgment reflecting the authors' bias and should be read in its historical context. The translation is accurate.
"The Tsars / The Three Emperors"	Refers to the Emperors of Germany, Austria, and Russia. The text discusses their political meetings. A note on this alliance would help.
"Bismarck"	Otto von Bismarck, German Chancellor. The text discusses his role in European politics regarding Egypt. A note is useful.
"Tonkin"	A region in northern Vietnam, then under French colonial expansion. The text mentions French actions there. A geographical/historical note is helpful.

Passage / Term	Explanation
"Sarakhs"	A city on the border of Iran and Turkmenistan, mentioned as a strategic point on the route to India. A note on its significance is useful.
"Merv"	An ancient city in Turkmenistan, taken by Russia, mentioned as a step toward India. A historical/geographical note is helpful.
"Andaman Islands"	A British penal colony in the Indian Ocean, mentioned as a place of exile for Muslim scholars. A note would clarify this.
Nubar Pasha	A prominent Armenian-Egyptian statesman who served in the Egyptian government; the text views his political role through the authors' strongly anti-colonial perspective.
Consumption tax	A tax imposed on the consumption or purchase of goods; in the Egyptian financial context, it refers to a form of

Passage / Term	Explanation
	indirect taxation affecting public revenue and consumers.

Explanatory Notes

The following notes clarify selected Islamic, historical, political, and geographical references for readers who may not know the nineteenth-century context. They do not alter the translation or the authors' arguments.

1. al-ʿAṣabiyya / Communal Solidarity. In this work the term is principally used for the social bond and loyalty that unites a community. When the authors condemn excess, injustice, or factionalism, the immediate context may require "partisanship" or "fanaticism."

2. Taqlīd. A technical term for adherence to established scholarly authority without independent juristic reasoning; the authors criticize it as an obstacle to intellectual renewal.

3. Ijtihād. Independent juristic reasoning from the Qur'an and Sunnah; the authors call for its revival as part of reform.

4. al-Salaf. The pious predecessors, especially the first generations of Muslims, presented in the text as an early model of Islamic practice.

5. Jabr and Kasb. Jabr refers to theological compulsion or determinism; kasb is the Ashʿari concept of human "acquisition" of acts within divine creation and decree.

6. Fiṭrah. The primordial human disposition with which people are created; in the text it is discussed in relation to reason, religion, and moral development.

7. Dhimma and Jizya. Dhimma denotes the historical covenant and protected legal status of non-Muslim subjects; jizya is the tax historically associated with that status.

8. Shūrā. Consultation as a principle of governance and collective deliberation; the text treats it as an important safeguard against arbitrary rule.

9. British "Protection" of Egypt. The expression refers to the British policy after the 1882 occupation; in the authors' argument, "protection" functions as a political euphemism for continued foreign control.

10. The Mahdist Movement. The movement of Muhammad Ahmad in Sudan, which began in 1881 and became a major challenge to Egyptian and British authority.

11. ʿUrabi Revolt. The Egyptian nationalist revolt of 1881–1882, led by Ahmed ʿUrabi; British military intervention followed in 1882.

12. The Eastern Question. The diplomatic struggle among European powers over the decline of Ottoman authority and the political future of its territories.

13. Geographical references. Marw, Sarakhs, Dongola, Berber, Shendi, Suakin, and Khartoum are historical places whose political and strategic importance varied during the period discussed.

14. “The Firmest Bond.” al-ʿUrwah al-Wuthqā is the title of the journal and echoes Qur’an 2:256, commonly rendered as “the firmest bond” or “the most trustworthy handhold.”

15. Jamal al-Din al-Afghani. His birthplace and precise origins remain disputed in scholarship; the text preserves the historical figure and his self-presentation without resolving that dispute.

16. Muhammad ʿAbduh. Egyptian scholar and reformer who later served as Grand Mufti of Egypt; the note is included to orient readers to his later public role.

17. Ahmed ʿUrabi. Leader of the Egyptian nationalist revolt of 1881–1882 against the Khedive and increasing European influence.

18. Muhammad Ahmad al-Mahdi. Sudanese religious and political leader who proclaimed himself the Mahdi in 1881 and led the movement that defeated Egyptian forces and challenged British authority.

19. Tawfiq Pasha. Khedive of Egypt from 1879 to 1892; his reign coincided with the British occupation of Egypt.

20. Lord Dufferin. British diplomat and statesman sent to Egypt after the 1882 occupation to recommend administrative reforms.

21. Lord Northbrook. British statesman and former Viceroy of India who was involved in British policy concerning Egypt and the wider imperial question.

22. Gladstone. British prime minister whose government ordered the bombardment of Alexandria and the military intervention in Egypt in 1882.

23. Nubar Pasha. Armenian-Egyptian statesman who served repeatedly as Prime Minister of Egypt and was deeply involved in the country's financial and administrative affairs.

24. Riyad Pasha. Egyptian statesman who served as prime minister during the period of growing European intervention in Egyptian affairs.

25. Zubair Pasha. Sudanese leader whose career intersected with Egyptian and British policy in Sudan; he was a rival figure in the politics surrounding Gordon.

26. Gordon Pasha. Charles George Gordon, the British general sent to Khartoum during the Sudan crisis of 1884–1885.

27. General Gerald Graham. British commander associated with military operations in the Suakin region during the Sudan campaign of 1884.

28. Hicks Pasha. William Hicks, commander of an Egyptian expedition defeated by Mahdist forces in 1883.

29. Sir Evelyn Baring. Senior British official in Egypt after the 1882 occupation; later known as Lord Cromer.

30. The Eastern Question. The nineteenth-century diplomatic and strategic problem arising from the decline of Ottoman power and competition among European states over its territories and influence.

31. The Mixed Courts. Courts established in Egypt in 1876 with mixed Egyptian and European judicial participation, especially for cases involving foreigners and commercial matters.

32. The Liquidation Law. The Egyptian financial settlement of 1880 that regulated public debt and strengthened European oversight of Egyptian finances.

33. British Occupation of Egypt. British forces occupied Egypt in 1882. The occupation was presented publicly as a temporary intervention but developed into prolonged British control.

34. The Suez Canal. Opened in 1869, the canal connected the Mediterranean and Red Sea and was of exceptional strategic importance to European powers, especially Britain.

35. Khartoum. Capital of Sudan and the site of the prolonged siege that ended with its capture by Mahdist forces in January 1885.

36. Suakin. Red Sea port that became an important base for British and Egyptian military operations in Sudan.

37. Berber. Strategic Nile city in Sudan, located on routes connecting the Red Sea region with the Nile valley and Khartoum.

38. Shendi. Historic Nile town located between Berber and Khartoum and mentioned in reports of the Mahdist advance.

39. Dongola. Major town and region in northern Sudan, important to Egyptian and British strategic planning during the Sudan crisis.

40. Andaman Islands. British island territory in the Bay of Bengal that included penal settlements used for the exile of political prisoners.

Index of Key Terms and Names

ʿAṣabiyya / Communal Solidarity — al-ʿaṣabiyya

Abduh, Muhammad — Muhammad ʿAbduh

Afghani, Jamal al-Din — Jamal al-Din al-Afghani

Andaman Islands — historical geography

Baring, Sir Evelyn — Sir Baring

Dhimma — Covenant of Protection

Dufferin, Lord — British diplomat

Fiṭrah — Primordial Nature

Gladstone — British Prime Minister

Gordon Pasha — Charles George Gordon

Ijtihād — Independent Legal Reasoning

Jabr — Theological Compulsion

Jizya — Poll Tax

Kasb — Acquisition

Khartoum — Sudan

Mahdi / Muhammad Ahmad — Mahdist Movement

Marw — Merv

Nafs — Soul / Self

Northbrook, Lord — British statesman

Rūḥ — Spirit

Shūrā — Consultation

Suakin — Red Sea port

Taqlīd — Blind Adherence

Taklīf — Divine Obligation

Uthman Digna — Sudanese leader

ʿUrabi — Egyptian nationalist revolt

Zubair Pasha — Sudanese leade

Index of Names, Places, Concepts, and Technical Terms

This index gives page references based on the current pagination of this edition.

'Urabi, Ahmed — 25, 52, 70, 262, 355, 372, 379, 457, 494, 506, 511, 528, 575, 582, 584, 607, 618

Afghani, Jamal al-Din — 33–44, 50–51, 53–54, 579, 582

Al-'Urwah al-Wuthqa — 41–42, 53, 66, 356, 387, 406, 421–422, 424, 539, 541, 544, 582

Andaman Islands — 357, 423, 585, 616

Baring, Sir Baring — 294, 376, 433, 507

Berber — 296, 301, 304, 312, 326, 331–332, 340, 345, 355, 359–360, 371, 375–376, 381, 386, 388, 394–396, 431–432, 454–455, 473, 490, 493, 502, 504–505, 529, 567, 584

British Occupation — 583

Dahriyyun — 54, 133, 160, 585, 605

Dhimma — 581, 591, 618

Digna, Uthman — 297, 300, 303, 305, 321, 329, 333, 396, 415, 450, 455, 490

Dongola — 271, 388, 415, 431, 454–455, 585

Dufferin, Lord — 326–327, 390, 414, 446, 503, 529, 569, 582, 608

Eastern Question — 374, 439, 496, 583, 599, 618

Fiṭrah — 159, 581, 602, 604, 618

Gladstone — 135–136, 298–301, 309–310, 312–313, 322, 338, 361, 370, 407, 414–415, 470, 473, 477, 492, 494, 496, 509, 567, 570, 582, 608

Gordon Pasha — 121, 281–282, 295–296, 302, 306–307, 309, 320–321, 324–325, 334–335, 340, 342–345, 348, 358–361, 368, 375–376, 379–381, 415, 431–432, 444, 448–449, 451–452, 490, 493–494, 504, 565, 576, 583–584, 607, 614

Ijtihād — 62, 116, 580, 587, 617

Jabr — 108, 140–141, 580, 588, 605, 618

Jizya — 131, 581, 590, 618

Khartoum — 295–296, 301–302, 311–312, 320–321, 324–326, 330–331, 334–335, 342–345, 347, 359–361, 368, 371, 375–376, 388, 395, 415, 432, 444, 446, 448, 451, 455, 490–491, 493–494, 503–504, 565, 568, 583–584, 607

Khedive — 38, 40, 52, 294, 314, 320, 366, 407, 433, 451, 476, 483, 521, 539, 550, 561–563, 582, 584, 597

Liquidation Law — 371, 383–384, 398, 573, 583, 611

Mixed Courts — 479, 583, 611

Muhammad Abduh — 34, 39, 42, 46–52, 54–55, 57–65, 514, 525, 579, 582, 586

Muhammad Ahmad al-Mahdi — 122, 240, 271, 280–281, 295–297, 300–301, 307–308, 319–321, 324–325, 330–331, 335–336, 339–341, 343–344, 346–348, 354–355, 360–362, 368, 372–373, 376, 380, 388, 395–397, 415, 418, 432, 448–450, 454, 457, 490–494, 500, 503, 529, 548, 562, 567, 570, 582, 585, 606–607, 610, 618

Northbrook, Lord — 345, 508, 519, 522–525, 527–528, 537, 549–550, 553, 565, 574, 582, 608

Nubar Pasha — 329, 353, 377, 388–390, 433, 523, 538–540, 578, 583, 616

Ottoman Empire — 119, 121–122, 285, 337, 583–584, 599

Pan-Islamic Unity — 45, 53, 584, 598

Qur'an — 27, 47, 56, 58, 64, 72, 85, 100, 104, 109–110, 123, 130, 144, 151, 156, 158, 160–164, 170–172, 177–178, 180–182, 191, 193, 200, 207, 214–215, 219, 224–225, 227, 229, 231–238, 243, 247–248, 250, 253–255, 264, 266–267, 269–270, 279, 357, 423, 497, 532, 534, 580–581, 585, 608, 617

Riyad Pasha — 38, 387–391, 393, 433, 538–539, 572, 583

Shendi — 302, 371, 376, 381, 432, 584

Shurā — 581

Suakin — 297, 301, 303–305, 311–312, 315, 323, 331, 333–334, 339–340, 345, 359, 396, 415, 434, 446, 449–450, 455, 473, 493, 502, 504–505, 565, 584

Suez Canal — 279, 283, 311, 314, 366, 374, 468, 478, 496, 584

Taklīf — 141, 581, 589

Taqlīd — 57, 62, 580, 586, 604, 617

Tawfiq Pasha — 262, 314, 353, 366–367, 388, 436, 448, 451, 455, 513, 522–523, 539, 545–546, 549–551, 562–563, 582

Uthman Digna — 297, 300, 303, 305, 321, 329, 333, 396, 415, 450, 455, 490

Zubair Pasha — 296, 307, 310, 375, 448, 451–452, 539, 583, 607